



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

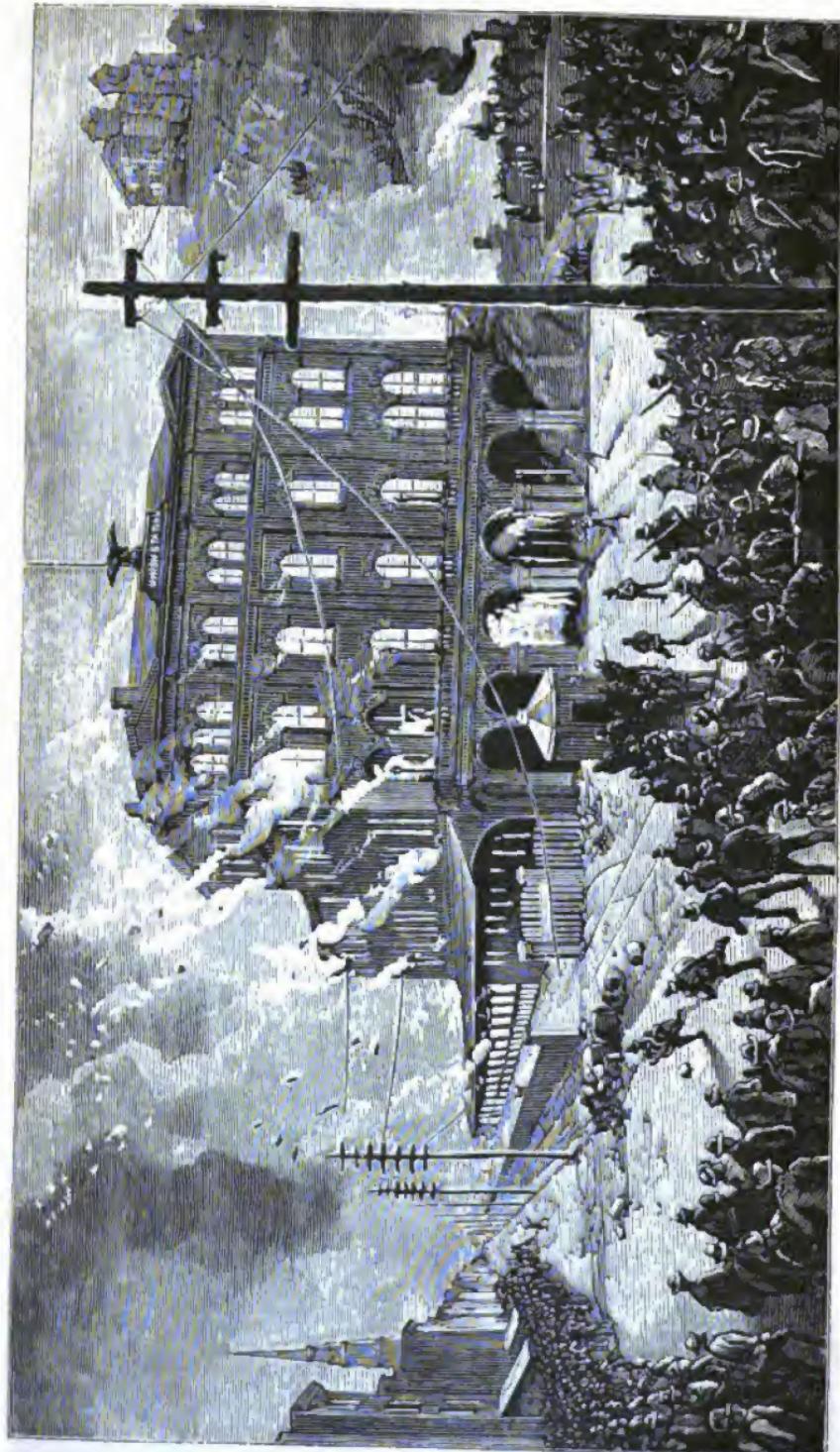
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF BUSINESS
ADMINISTRATION
BAKER LIBRARY





BURNING OF THE UNION DEPOT AT PITTSBURGH, BY THE RIOTERS.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE GREAT RIOTS,
BEING A FULL AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT
OF
THE STRIKES AND RIOTS ON THE VARIOUS
RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES
AND IN THE MINING DISTRICTS.

ILLUSTRATED

VALIANT AND GRANDE PICTURES OF THE WORKERS' STRIKE IN PITTSBURGH, BALTIMORE, CINCINNATI,
AND OTHER CITIES. THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN
THE TROOPS AND THE WORKERS. THE RAILROAD
MIGRATIONS AND DESTROYATION OF
PROPERTY. THRILLING SCENES
AND INCIDENTS, ETC., ETC.

TOGETHER WITH

THE HISTORY OF THE MOLLIE MAGUIRES.

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW MATHER,

HISTORY OF THE GRANDE MOUVEMENT IN THE
GREAT CITY, ETC., ETC.

WITH 500 ENGRAVINGS FROM ORIGINAL WORKS

This work is not for sale in the United States. Address to the author, copy
and address the Publisher, or an Agent in New York, Boston, Philadelphia.

PUBLISHED BY

THE NATIONAL PUBLISHING COMPANY,

PHILADELPHIA, PA., CHICAGO, ILL., AND ST. LOUIS, MO.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT RIOTS.,

BEING A FULL AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF

THE STRIKES AND RIOTS ON THE VARIOUS
RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES
AND IN THE MINING REGIONS.

EMBRACING

BRILLIANT AND GRAPHIC PEN-PICTURES OF THE REIGN
OF TERROR IN PITTSBURGH, BALTIMORE, CHICAGO,
AND OTHER CITIES. THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN
THE TROOPS AND THE MOB. TERRIBLE CON-
FLAGRATIONS AND DESTRUCTION OF
PROPERTY. THRILLING SCENES
AND INCIDENTS, ETC., ETC.

TOGETHER WITH

A FULL HISTORY OF THE MOLLIE MAGUIRES.

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW MARTIN,
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE GRANGE MOVEMENT," "SECRETS OF THE
GREAT CITY," ETC., ETC.

James Deane

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS FINE ENGRAVINGS FROM DRAWINGS MADE ON THE SPOT.

*Issued by subscription only, and not for sale in the book stores. Persons desiring a copy
should address the Publishers, and an Agent will call upon them. See page 517.*

PUBLISHED BY

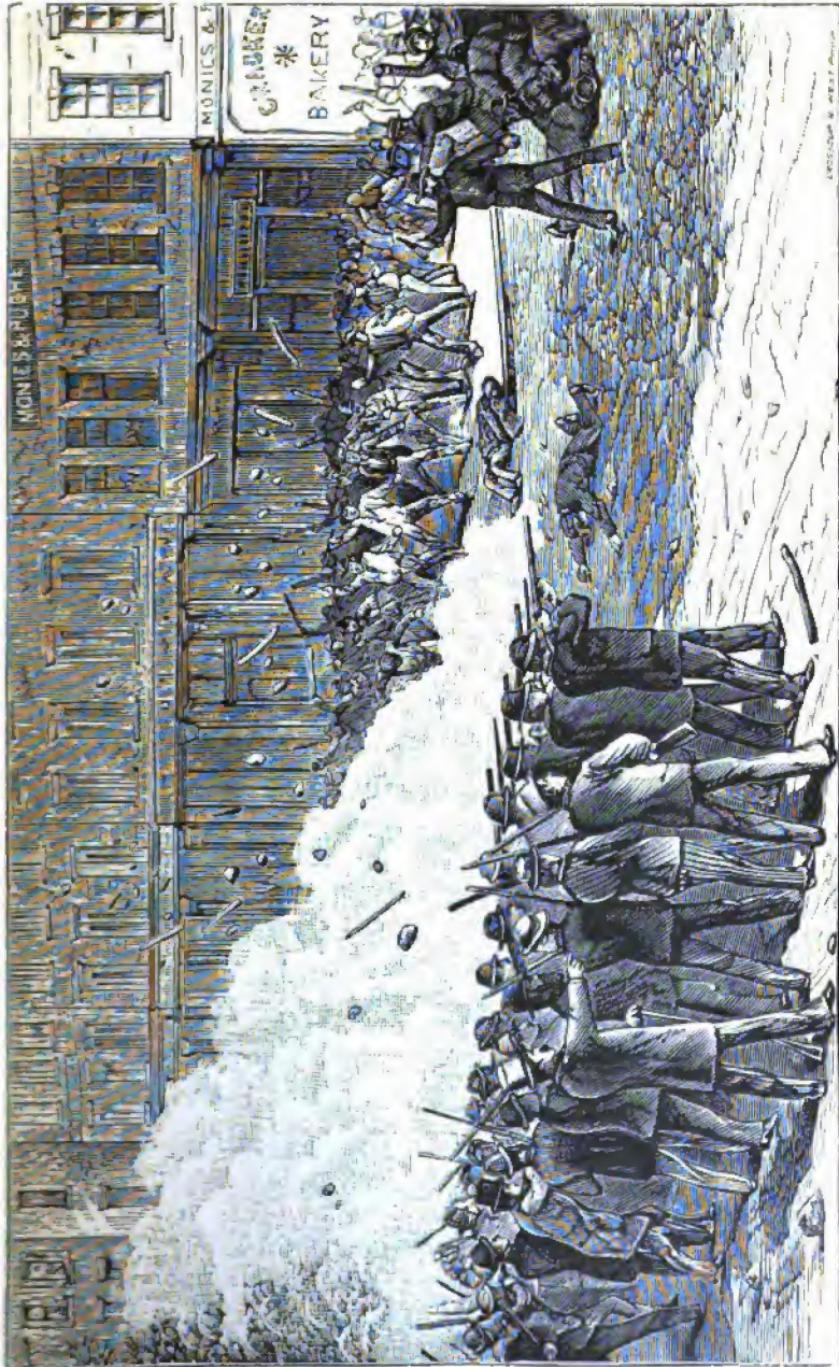
THE NATIONAL PUBLISHING COMPANY,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., CHICAGO, ILL., AND ST. LOUIS, MO.

NWD
724
M12

Dec. 7, 1927

64936

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1877, by
J. R. JONES,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.



THE MAYOR'S POSSE FIRING ON THE RIOTERS AT SCRANTON.

P R E F A C E.

THE great and overwhelming interest exhibited by the people of the United States in the recent terrible railroad and labor riots in various parts of our country, demands that a record of the events of the great outbreak shall be preserved in a more permanent and satisfactory form than the brief and excited newspaper reports upon which all were forced to depend during the continuance of the disturbance.

At a period of profound quiet and repose, the entire country was startled by the simultaneous seizure by lawless men of the four great trunk lines between the Atlantic Seaboard and the Western States. In a single day the whole internal trade of the Union was suspended. Millions of dollars of capital were paralyzed, thousands of enterprises were confronted with ruin, and the whole of this great country was threatened with a crisis such as it had never experienced before. Instantly the whole military power of the general government and the great States immediately involved in the trouble was called

upon to give protection to the endangered commerce of the land. Our peaceful country resounded with the tramp of armed men hastening to assert the majesty of the law, on the one side; and with the rush of infuriated mobs, on the other side, gathering to resist the execution of the statutes of the land, and to overturn the very foundations of society. Almost without warning, the American people were brought face to face with a conflict which for a while threatened their very existence as a nation. The excitement grew steadily, and for a time mob law was supreme. From all points came reports of lawless violence, of pillage, arson and murder. The worst elements of the Old World, that had been driven out of Europe, suddenly appeared in our midst, and proclaiming their terrible doctrines of destruction and rapine, endeavored to revive in our prosperous and peaceful land the horrors of the Parisian Commune. The danger was terrible and real, and for a moment the American people stood appalled, not knowing how far the revolt might extend, or what character it might assume. Never since the days of the Civil War had the nation been so profoundly moved, or so painfully apprehensive. On all sides the determination was made plain that the outbreak must be put down ; the laws must resume their sway ; and the future of this great country must not be perilled by mob violence. No man could tell how

soon his home would be the mark of the rioter's torch, or his dear ones be at the mercy of an infuriated mob, and this thought brought hundreds of thousands to the support of the representatives of law and order. At the call of the civil authorities armed men came from all quarters, and it was soon apparent even to the most desperate rioters that the people were determined to preserve their institutions and property from violence at any cost. This formidable uprising of the people had the happiest effect, and the revolt succumbed before it. The disturbers of the peace slunk away, or were arrested, and the supremacy of the law re-established. The very originators of the strikes, horrified at the capture and distortion of their movement by the mob of lawless ruffians, in many instances gave their assistance to the authorities in restoring order.

Now that the danger is over, people are beginning to investigate the causes of the great outbreak, and to devise means by which such dangers may be averted in the future. It is a question in which all are interested, and which must affect the welfare of every citizen. During the existence of the revolt, it was impossible to do more than obtain a hasty and incomplete idea of it. It broke out in so many, and such widely separated quarters of the Union, and its incidents followed each other in such rapid and startling

succession, that the observer was bewildered and unable to follow the events in their true order. All were obliged to depend upon the brief and hurried telegrams furnished the newspapers, which were frequently unreliable and often contradicted.

There is, therefore, a real need of a calm, clear and connected history of the terrible scenes through which we have just passed, which shall present a plain and unbiased account of the causes and incidents of the disturbance, and enable its readers to form a just conception of the danger of such outbreaks, and to do their share in providing measures which shall prevent such occurrences in the future.

Such a work the author has endeavored to present to the reader in the following pages. He has endeavored to present a complete picture of the great uprising in all its various features, and to show how it affected the separate portions of the Union and the country as a whole. He has sought to make the narrative impartial and truthful, and to do justice to both the capitalist and the workingman, and to place the responsibility for the fearful scenes through which we have passed, exactly where it belongs.

In order to render the work complete a full account is given of the San Francisco riots, which, though distinct from the railroad revolt, are generally connected in the public mind with them.

The strikes having extended from the railroads to the coal regions of Pennsylvania, and having embraced thousands of miners, the reader will naturally desire to know something of the secret and terrible power that in past years has directed the labor movements in this important section of our country. Therefore a complete and succinct account of the Mollie Maguires is embraced within the work. It is believed that it includes all that is worth knowing about this terrible order.

In the preparation of the work free use has been made of contemporary narratives. These give to the work an especial value, and impart to it a piquancy and vividness which would otherwise be wanting.

E. W. M.

PHILADELPHIA,

September 18th, 1877.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE STRIKE ON THE BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD.

Cause of the Strike on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad—The Troubles begin at Baltimore—The Trainmen Stop Work—Spread of the Trouble along the Road—The Strike begun at Martinsburg—The Trains Stopped—The Civil Authorities defied—The Company appeal to the Governor of West Virginia—Arrival of Troops at Martinsburg—The First Shot—Failure of the Militia to accomplish anything—Colonel Delaplaine reaches Martinsburg—Governor Mathews calls upon the United States for Aid—The President's Proclamation—Regular Troops sent to Martinsburg—Firmness of Captain Miller—Arrest of Strikers—The Wheeling Troops hold their Prisoners—Arrival of the Regulars at Martinsburg—General French's Warning to the Mob—The Regulars open the Road—Troubles at Keyser and Grafton—Attack on Governor Mathews—The Strike at Cumberland—Quarrel between General French and the Railroad Officials—General Getty in Command—The Last Gasp of the Strike—Answer of the Railroad Company.....	17
--	----

CHAPTER II.

THE BALTIMORE RIOTS.

The Strike at Cumberland—The City appeals to the State for Aid—The Fifth Maryland ordered to Cumberland—Proclamation of Governor Carroll—The Troops Summoned—Excitement in Baltimore—Sounding the Military Call—The Troops march out—Attack on the 5th Regiment—Firmness of the Troops—Assembling of the 6th Regiment—The Mob Attack the Assayory—The Regiment marches out—The Battle in the Streets—The Regiment reaches the Depot—Attack on the Depot by the Mob—Destruction of Railroad Property—The Depot Fired—The Mob Driven Back and the Flames Extinguished—Governor Carroll Calls on the President of the United States for Assistance—Troops ordered to Baltimore—	9
--	---

General Hancock in Command—The President's Proclamation—The Mob Defeated by the Police—A Night of Terror—Thrilling Scenes in Baltimore—Arrival of General Hancock and the Regulars—The Mob Cowed—The Troubles Come to an End—The Miners' Strike in Western Maryland—Trouble on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal—It is Put Down.....	50
--	----

CHAPTER III.

THE PITTSBURGH RIOTS.

Cause of the Outbreak—The Strike Begun on the Pennsylvania Railroad—The Civil Authorities Defied—The Sheriff calls on the Governor for Aid—The Sixth Division Ordered under Arms—Proclamation of the Governor—Spread of the Strike—Trains Stopped—The Military on the Ground—The Sheriff's Appeal—Speech of General Pearson to the Rioters—Strike on the Fort Wayne Road—Colonel Scott in Philadelphia—Return of the Mayor—Precautions of the City Authorities—The Philadelphia Troops Called out—Departure of the First Division for Pittsburgh—Arrival of the Troops at Pittsburgh—The First Division March to the Outer Depot—The Mob Attack the Troops—The Troops fire upon the Rioters—Disgraceful Conduct of the Pittsburgh Troops—Retreat of the first Division to the Round House—Fury of the Mob—Gun Stores Sacked—Attack of the Rioters on the Round House—The Fatal Cannon—Thrilling Adventures of Sergeant Wilson—The Mob fire the Trains—Terrible Conflagrations—A Night of Horror—Burning of the Round House—Retreat of the First Division from Pittsburgh—The City in the Hands of the Mob—Burning of the Railroad Shops and Offices—The Rioters Plunder the Trains—Alarm of the Citizens—Public Meeting held—Burning of the Union Depot—Vigilance Committees Organized—Tardy Action of the Citizens—Bishop Tuigg and the Mob—Order Restored—Monday in Pittsburgh—Affairs in Allegheny City—General Brinton's Views—Strike on the Fort Wayne Road—Robert Ammond.....	76
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRIKE ON THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

The Governor of Pennsylvania calls upon the United States for Aid—Proclamation of the President—Regular Troops ordered to Philadelphia—The Strike at Altoona—Success of the Rioters—Troop Train Stopped—Troops Driven Back—Colonel Snowden Retreats to Harrisburg—The Strikers Hold the Road—The Mob Seize the Railroad at Harrisburg—The City Authorities Powerless—Threats of the Rioters—Guarding the State Arsenal—Citizens form Armed Companies—Surrender of Militiamen to the Mob—The City Safe—Arrival of the Governor—The Strikers in Possession at Columbia—Excitement at Philadelphia—Precautions of the Mayor and Police—The Strike Begun—Scenes at the West Philadelphia Depot—The Police Whip the Mob—A Gallant Charge—The Mob Held Down—Vigor-	
--	--

One Action of the Authorities—Attempt to Start Trains Resisted by the Mob —Another Victory for the Police—The Rioters Fire an Oil Train—Determination of the Citizens to Put Down an Outbreak—Arrival of General Hancock and the Regulars—The Danger over—Freight Trains Sent Out —Governor Hartranft at Philadelphia—His Orders—Departure of the Governor and Troops to Open the Railroad—The Strikers Overawed at Altoona—Train Men Forced to do their Duty—The Troops Move from Blairsville Intersection—Pittsburgh Occupied—Attack on the Regulars—Capture of Prisoners—The Governor and the Strikers—The Strike Crushed—The Road Opened.....	125
---	-----

CHAPTER V.

THE READING RIOTS.

The Strike at Reading—Burning of the Lebanon Valley Bridge by the Strikers—Rioters at Reading Stop the Trains—High-Handed Acts of Violence—Arrival of Troops at Reading—The Rioters Attack the Military—The Soldiers Fire Upon the Mob—A Terrible Volley—Excitement at Reading—Action of the City Authorities—Capture of Arms—Arrival of the 16th Regiment—The Soldiers Fraternize with the Rioters—Danger of a Conflict Between the Troops—The Military Sent Away from Reading—Arrival of the Regulars—Arrest of Rioters—Character of the Rioters—A Reporter's Adventure—Verdict of the Coroner's Jury—Justice to the Troops.....	174
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

THE STRIKE IN THE MINING REGIONS.

The Strike Reaches the Coal Regions—Trouble at Pottsville and Shamokin—Strike on the Lehigh Valley Railroad—Trains Stopped—Matters at Wilkesbarre—Efforts of the Company to Run the Trains—The Governor asked to Protect the Road—Riot at Wilkesbarre—A Plucky Engineer—Triumph of the Strikers—The Troops Capture Plymouth and Wilkesbarre—Wholesale Arrests—Collapse of the Strike—The Troubles at Easton—Excitement at Scranton—Strike of the Men of the Lackawanna Coal and Iron Company—The Railroad Men Join the Strike—Proclamation of the Mayor—Trains Stopped at Scranton—Strike of the Miners—The Mines Flooded—Mob Violence at Scranton—Surrender of the Railroad Strikers—Bitterness of the Miners—Trains Stopped at Plymouth—The Rioters Take Possession of Scranton—Attack on the Mayor—His Narrow Escape—The Posse Summoned—The Rioters Fired Upon and Scattered—The Mob Overawed—Arrival of the Governor and the Troops—Capture of Strikers—The Danger Over—Interview of the Strikers with the Governor—Sullenness of the Miners—The Coroner's Jury—A Shameful Verdict—Arrest and Rescue of Members of the Mayor's Posse—The Sequel—The Rioters Foiled—The Strike Spreads through the Coal Regions.....	189
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

THE STRIKES IN NEW YORK.

The Strike on the Erie Railroad—The State Asked for Protection—Proclamation of the Governor of New York—Troops Ordered to Hornellsville—Trains Stopped by the Rioters—Desperation of the Strikers—Donahue, the Leader of the Strike—A Specimen Rioter—Strikers Refuse the Offer of the Erie Railroad Officials—Trouble at Other Points on the Road—The Riots at Buffalo—The Military Driven Off—The Second Detachment of the 23d Regiment Forces its Way to Hornellsville—Attempt to Burn a Bridge—Mob Violence—The Governor Proclaims the Law Respecting Interference with Railroads—A Hard Blow to the Strikers—A Reporter's Adventures—Recklessness of the Strikers—The Civil Authorities Resolve to Enforce the Law—Preparations for the Arrest of the Strikers—A Settlement Effected—Surrender of the Strikers—End of the Strike on the Erie Railroad—Comments on the Strike—Punishment of Donahue—Matters at Albany—Strike on the New York Central Railroad Threatened—Return of Governor Robinson to Albany—Mr. Vanderbilt's Policy—The Strike Begun on the New York Central Railroad—It is Mainly an Outside Movement—Indifference of the Men to the Strike—Arrival of the 9th Regiment at Albany—The Mob Overawed at Albany—End of the Strike at that Place—Arrest of Strikers—The Strike a Failure at Other Points on the New York Central Railroad—Mr. Vanderbilt's Address to his Men—Strike on the Lake Shore Road—It Fails—Excitement in New York City—Vigorous Action of the City Authorities—Actions of the Communists—A Meeting Called in the Interest of the Strike—Preparations of the Police—Permission to Hold the Meeting Granted—Citizen Justice Schwab—He wants the Police Withdrawn—The Commissioners Defy the Mob—Citizen Schwab is Astonished—The Meeting at Tompkins Square—A Great Failure—The Authorities Ready—The Danger Over—The Troops Dismissed..... 223

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STRIKE IN NEW JERSEY.

Apprehensions of Trouble in Jersey City—The Pennsylvania Company Ask Protection—A Strike Averted on the Pennsylvania Road—Preparations of the Authorities—The Military Ordered under Arms—Scenes in Jersey City on the 23d—The Mob Overawed—Proclamation of the Governor—The Danger over on the Pennsylvania Road—Strikes on the Morris & Essex and New Jersey Central Roads—Troubles at Phillipsburg—End of the Strike..... 327

CHAPTER IX.

THE STRIKE IN OHIO.

Strike on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad at Newark, Ohio—Trains Stopped—Signs of Violence—The Company ask the Protection of the State—Troops Ordered to Newark—They Sympathize with the Rioters—Threats of the Miners—Strike at Columbus—The Mob Stop the Trains—The Rioters in Possession of the City—They Compel the Factories to Stop Work—Alarm in Columbus—Uprising of the Citizens—They Determine to Put Down the Mob—Proclamation of the Governor—Columbus Quiet—Riot at Zanesville—Energetic Action of the Citizens—The Strike at Cleveland—Trains Stopped on the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad—The Blockade at Collinwood—Determination of the Strikers—They Preserve Order—Riot at Toledo—The Strike at Cincinnati—Gathering of the Mob—Rioters Stop Trains on the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad—The City at the Mercy of the Mob—Burning of a Railroad Bridge by the Rioters—The Citizens Resolve to Put Down the Mob—Railroad Men Refuse to be Interfered with—Restoration of Order..... 336

CHAPTER X.

THE STRIKE IN INDIANA.

The Strike at Fort Wayne—The Men of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad stop the Freight Trains—The Strike Spreads—The Railroad Shops Closed—The Leaders of the Strike Counsel Moderation—Measures of the City Government—Workmen join the Strike—The Strikers Guard the Railroad Property, and Prevent the Formation of a Mob—Their General Good Conduct—They Determine to Seize the Fort Wayne Railroad—Vigilance of the Authorities—Failure of the Strike on the Wabash Road—The Strikers Disheartened—The Fort Wayne Men Surrender to the Company—The Strike on the Ohio & Mississippi Road—Matters at Terre Haute—The Strike at Indianapolis—Trains Stopped—Proclamation of the Mayor—Arming of the Citizens—Proclamation of the Governor—Collapse of the Strike..... 355

CHAPTER XI

THE STRIKE IN ILLINOIS—THE CHICAGO RIOTS.

Danger to Chicago from its Communist Population—Announcements of the Communists—Fears of the City Authorities—Meetings of the Railroad Men—The Authorities Prepare for Trouble—The Grand Army of Starvation—The Strike Begun at Chicago—Action of the Strikers—Gathering

of the Mob—The Rioters Close the Shops and Factories—The Military Called Upon—Proclamations of the Mayor—The Governor's Proclamation—Encounters between the Police and the Rioters—Mass Meeting of Citizens—Measures for Defence—Night Combats between the Police and the Mob—Arrival of the Regular Troops—They Halt at Chicago—A Regular's View of the Situation—The Governor of Illinois Calls on the President for Aid—The Regulars at Chicago Ordered to Assist the State Officials—The Meeting at Turner Hall—The Police Disperse the Mob—Fights at the Halstead Street Viaduct—Gallant Stand of the Police—Reinforcements Arrive—Charge of the Cavalry—Flight of the Mob—The Regulars Ordered Out—The Mob Overawed—The Disturbances Die Out—Chicago at Peace—The Strikes in Other Parts of Illinois—Proclamation of the Governor.... 369

CHAPTER XII.

THE ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

Beginning of the Strike at St. Louis—Agitation among the Communists—Trains Stopped at East St. Louis—Matters at the Union Depot—A Plucky Conductor—Strikers Cross to St. Louis—Work Stopped at St. Louis—Seizure of the Union Depot—A Drunken Leader—Arrival of the Regulars—Cause of the Inaction of the City Authorities—Efforts to Prepare for a Conflict—Communist Meetings—Forcing Workmen to Stop Work—Passenger Trains Stopped at East St. Louis—Organization of a Citizen Force—The Mob take Possession of the City—Manufacturing Establishments Compelled by the Rioters to Close—Exciting Scenes—The Negroes Force Steamboat Men to Increase Wages—The Civil Authorities Ready—Meeting of Communists at Schuler's Hall—It is Broken up by the Police—Flight of the Communist Leaders—Strikers Driven from the Union Depot—The Danger Over in St. Louis—Regulars sent to East St. Louis—The Governor of Illinois Reaches East St. Louis with Troops—The Strike Collapses—Return of Peace..... 395

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SAN FRANCISCO RIOTS.

Hatred of the Chinese by the Lower Classes of San Francisco—Origin of the Riots—The Labor Meeting—Attack on the Chinese—The Riot Spreads—Action of the City Authorities—Arming the Citizens—Fire at the Pacific Mail Dock—The Rioters attack the Vigilantes and are Defeated—Exciting Scenes—A Night of Terror—The Mob Cowed—End of the Danger—Triumph of Law..... 420

CHAPTER XIV.

ACTION OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

Intervention of the Government Unexpected by the Strikers—Course of President Hayes—The Constitutional Use of the Army—Calls of the States for Troops Answered—Action of the Government in Illinois and Missouri—Effect of the Presence of the Regular Troops—Service of the Signal Corps—The Strike and the Mails—Action of the Post Office Department...	431
--	-----

CHAPTER XV.

TWO VIEWS OF THE STRIKE.

Views of Colonel Thomas A. Scott—The Strike as Seen by a Railroad President—He thinks the General Government should have More Power to Protect Railroad Property—Views of a Striker—How he Proposes to Remedy the Trouble.....	443
--	-----

A HISTORY OF THE MOLLIE MAGUIRES.

CHAPTER I.

The Anthracite Coal Regions of Pennsylvania—Character of the Towns and People—The Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Molly Maguires Identical—Origin of the Society—The “ Buckshots”—Rapid Increase of the Order in the Mining Regions—Resistance to the Draft—Riot at Mauch Chunk—Murders of Langdon, Smith, Dunne, Littlehales, Rae and Powell—Terrible Reign of Crime—The Mollies Responsible for the Murders—Impossibility of Convicting a Mollie of a Crime—The Mollies Defy the Law—The Prosperity of the Coal Regions Affected—A Reign of Terror—Mollies in Public Office—It is Resolved to Destroy the Molly Maguires.....	458
---	-----

CHAPTER II.

Franklin B. Gowen—His Interest in the Coal Regions—He Resolves upon the Destruction of the Molly Maguires—Difficulties of the Attempt—He secures the Assistance of the Pinkerton Agency—A Detective to be sent among the Mollies—The Man Selected—James McParlan—He takes the Name of James McKenna—Arrives in the Coal Regions—Meets Pat Dormer—Professes to be a Mollie—Deceives Dormer—A Narrow Escape

—Finds Work at Shenandoah—Muff Lawler—Discovers the Character of the Mollie Organization—McKenna Becomes a Mollie Maguire—The Initiation Ceremony—McKenna Rises in the Order—Account of the Ancient Order of Hibernians—Its Constitution and Organization—Its Strength in the United States—The Secret Signs and Pass-words—Precautions as regards Members—Use of the Body-Masters and Quarrelling Toasts—Systematic Regulation of the Commission of Crime by the Order—Cold-blooded Murder the Object of the Society—System of Defence against the Law..... 409

CHAPTER III.

McKenna as a Mollie Maguire—His Reports to the Pinkerton Agency—The “Long Strike”—Suffering of the Miners—Violence of the Mollies—Captain Linden—Failure of the Strike—The Mollies try to bring on a Riot—Troops sent to the Coal Regions—Murder of George Major—Trial and Acquittal of Dougherty—Attacks upon him—Dougherty Demands the Death of his Enemies—His Demand Granted—Attempted Assassination of William M. Thomas—Murder of Benjamin F. Yost—The Work of the Mollies—The Murderer Rewarded—McKenna obtains the Confessions of all the Assassins—Murder of Gomer James—Hurley Acknowledges the Deed—The Mollie Convention Decides that he is Entitled to a Reward for his Crime—McKenna secures Proofs of the Guilt of the Mollies—Murder of Thomas Sanger and William Uren—The Murderers Relate their Exploits to McKenna—Murder of John P. Jones—Capture of the Murderers—A Terrible Blow to the Mollies—Growth of the Opposition to the Mollies—The Mollies Cowed—Trial of Doyle for the Murder of Jones—His Conviction and Sentence—Kerrigan Turns Informer—His Confession—Arrest of the Murderers of Yost and Sanger and Uren—McKenna Suspected of being a Detective—His Bold Action—Attempts to Kill him—Sees Father O’Conner—His Work Done—Returns to Philadelphia—Trial and Conviction of the Mollie Maguires—McParlan on the Witness Stand—Sentences of the Mollies—Executions of the Mollies at Pottsville and Mauch Chunk—Mollie Maguireism Destroyed..... 402

it did not matter

& reles



CHAR

CHICAGO.

1

M

卷之三

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT RIOTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE STRIKE ON THE BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD.

Cause of the Strike on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad—The Troubles begin at Baltimore—The Trainmen Stop Work—Spread of the Trouble along the Road—The Strike begun at Martinsburg—The Trains Stopped—The Civil Authorities defied—The Company appeal to the Governor of West Virginia—Arrival of Troops at Martinsburg—The First Shot—Failure of the Militia to accomplish anything—Colonel Delaplaine reaches Martinsburg—Governor Mathews calls upon the United States for Aid—The President's Proclamation—Regular Troops sent to Martinsburg—Firmness of Captain Miller—Arrest of Strikers—The Wheeling Troops hold their Prisoners—Arrival of the Regulars at Martinsburg—General French's Warning to the Mob—The Regulars open the Road—Troubles at Keyser and Grafton—Attack on Governor Mathews—The Strike at Cumberland—Quarrel between General French and the Railroad Officials—General Getty in Command—The Last Gasp of the Strike—Answer of the Railroad Company.

ABOUT the middle of July, 1877, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company made a reduction of ten per cent. in the pay of its employés. The pay of all the employed, of whatever grade, was equally diminished, no invidious distinctions being made. All accepted the change quietly except the firemen and the men who run the freight trains. The first-class firemen on this

road had been receiving \$1.75 per day; the reduction brought their wages to \$1.58. The firemen of the second class were reduced from \$1.50 to \$1.35 per day. These men refused to accept the reduction, and stopped work. As soon as this became known, numerous applications were made to the company, by men out of work, for employment in the places of the men who had "struck." The company, having the large unemployed class along its line to choose from, had no difficulty in filling the places of the strikers, generally with experienced firemen who were eagerly seeking employment.

Here the matter might have rested had the sober good sense of the strikers come to their aid. They had refused to work for the wages offered by the Baltimore & Ohio Company, and had abandoned their posts. In so doing they had exercised an undisputed right. Having left the service of the company, they should have recognized the fact that they had no longer any interest in its action, and should have sought employment elsewhere. Unfortunately for themselves and for the whole country they chose a different line of conduct, and one which changed the sympathy which the country had felt for them in their privations to the sternest condemnation of their lawlessness.

The leaders of the strikers now resolved to compel the railroad company to recall the order for the reduction of wages. They believed that they could accomplish this by taking forcible possession of the road at certain points, and preventing the passage of all freight trains until the company should be driven, by the loss of its business, into an acceptance of their demand for a return to the old wages. They did not seem to be

aware that by seizing the property of their late employers, and stopping the business of the road, they were assuming the character of criminals and committing offences against the laws of the land of so grave a nature that the authorities would be compelled to crush them by force.

On the morning of the 16th of July, about forty firemen and brakemen of freight trains on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, in Baltimore, refused to accept the reduction in their wages, which was to go into effect that day, and stopped work. The strikers assembled at Camden Junction, about three miles from Baltimore, and stopped a freight train, persuading the fireman to leave his engine, and refusing to allow another to take his place. At the request of the railroad officials, the city authorities sent a police force to the spot and dispersed the strikers. The trains were then run during the day without further delay.

This, however, was but the beginning of the trouble. The news spread rapidly along the road, and the disaffection soon reached Martinsburg, in West Virginia, Cumberland, in Maryland, and Keyser, Grafton, and Wheeling, in West Virginia, the most important points on the line of the road, the last-named place being its western terminus.

At Martinsburg the Baltimore & Ohio Company have large shops, and there is always a large concentration of the rolling stock and employés of the road there. As soon as the news was received from Baltimore, the firemen and brakemen stopped work and took part in the strike. They numbered about one hundred men. They assembled about the depot, seized the road and the engines, and compelled the men who

were willing to work to leave their places. No freight trains were allowed by the strikers to move either way, and all arriving at Martinsburg were compelled to halt; the engines were uncoupled and run on to the side tracks, and the firemen and train hands joined the strikers. The railroad officials, finding themselves powerless, applied to the mayor and city authorities for protection. The strikers were ordered by the mayor to disperse and cease their unlawful interference with the property of the railroad company, but refused to obey the command, which the officials were unable to enforce.

On the night of the 16th, Mr. King, the First Vice-President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, telegraphed to the Hon. Henry M. Mathews, Governor of West Virginia, informing him of the strike of the men at Martinsburg, and of their forcible stoppage of the company's business. He told the governor that the authorities of the town were unable to suppress the riot, and on behalf of the company demanded the protection of the State. Governor Mathews at once responded in the following telegram:

WHEELING, W. VA., July 17th, 12.10 A. M.
KING, Vice-President:

There are two military companies at Martinsburg, armed and supplied with ammunition. I have telegraphed my aide-de-camp, Colonel C. J. Faulkner, Jr., to aid the authorities with the companies to execute the law and suppress the riot. I will do all I can to preserve the peace and secure safety to your trains and railroad operations. Colonel Faulkner is directed to look also to Opequon.

HENRY M. MATHEWS.

Orders were despatched from Wheeling to Colonel C. J. Faulkner to call out the Berkeley Light Infantry Guards and protect the railroad property at Martinsburg against the interference of the strikers. Colonel Faulkner at once obeyed, and reached Martinsburg with his command, numbering seventy-five men, early on the morning of the 17th. By this time the strikers had been joined by a large number of sympathizers, including the worst element of the place, and the mob now numbered nearly five hundred persons.

Immediately upon his arrival at the depot, Colonel Faulkner took charge of one of the western bound freight trains, which had been detained by the strikers, and attempted to move it on its way west. He deployed his company on both sides of the train, which was started forward slowly, an engineer and fireman having volunteered to take charge of it. As the train reached the switch, one of the strikers, William Vandergriff, seized the lever which controlled it, in order to run the train off upon a side track. John Poisal, a member of the militia company, jumped from the pilot of the engine and attempted to replace the switch. Vandergriff fired two shots at him, one causing a slight flesh wound in the side of the head. Poisal returned the fire, shooting Vandergriff through the hip, and several other shots were fired at him by the soldiers, striking him in the head and arm. When the firing was heard, a large crowd of railroad hands and citizens collected, and the feeling became intense. The volunteering engineer and fireman of the train having run away, Colonel Faulkner made the statement that he had performed his duty, and if the trainmen deserted their posts he could do nothing more. The militia

company was therefore marched to its armory and ingloriously disbanded, leaving the rioters in possession of the field, and the road blocked up with standing trains on the sidings. Vandergriff lay in a dangerous condition all night in consequence of his wounds. One of his arms had to be amputated. The man who shot him first, Private Poisal, was conductor on a freight train, but was not connected with the strike. The strikers justify the shots fired at Poisal, on the ground that he was overstepping his duty, as he had no orders from Colonel Faulkner to close the switch. Poisal's injuries were slight.

The excitement now reached its height, and the mob rapidly increased. In the meantime the blockade on the railroad grew greater and greater. During the afternoon the strikers and their friends, numbering fully one thousand men, marched about bidding defiance to the military and the authorities. Seventy-five or eighty engines were congregated in the depot yard, and none were allowed to depart. A committee from the striking firemen had informed the engineers that in case any engineer should attempt to take a train out of town he would be immediately shot. At noon a cattle train bound for Baltimore attempted to start, whereupon the rioters flocked on board, and with drawn revolvers placed at the head of the engineer and fireman, compelled them to run the train into the stock-yards, where the cattle were unloaded. The passenger trains were not interfered with, as the strike was entirely confined to the transportation men. The strikers had everything their own way all the afternoon, and the military were passive, awaiting further orders from the governor. During the day the number

of freight trains held by the strikers amounted to seventy, consisting of about twelve hundred cars, loaded and empty.

During the 17th, the railroad men at Baltimore were excited and restless. About three o'clock in the morning a freight train which had just arrived from the West, bound for Locust Point, was thrown from the track on the outskirts of the city. The cars were badly broken, and the engine, taking fire, was much injured. The affair caused some little excitement in spite of the early hour, and for a while the track was blockaded by the wreck.

The excitement continued to spread along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Governor Mathews, of West Virginia, despatched his aide-de-camp, Colonel R. L. Delaplaine, of Wheeling, to Martinsburg, to represent him and take such measures as the state of affairs might demand, and sent with him a volunteer company from Wheeling—the Mathews Light Guard.

During the 17th, the officers of the railroad urged upon Governor Mathews the necessity of calling upon the President of the United States for troops to suppress the mob at Martinsburg and other points, which was growing stronger and more dangerous every hour. He was informed that it was not believed that the local State militia would be found sufficient to control the strikers and protect the business of the road, since it was evident that the strike had become general and the strikers intent upon stopping trains and maintaining a suspension of the business of the road unless their demands were acceded to by the company. It was urged upon Governor Mathews that the State militia at the points of trouble were either themselves railroad men,

or in some manner identified with them in a friendly way. The militia at Martinsburg, as was seen, would not fire upon the strikers, the only shot fired being in resentment, and not with a view to break up the strike. Governor Mathews was therefore requested to take into consideration the propriety of at once calling upon President Hayes for Federal troops that would obey orders, and put a stop to the riots and the strike at once, and thus save the business and property of the company, and probably avoid more bloodshed. The State of West Virginia had no militia organization. A few widely separated volunteer companies constituted its only military force, and the State authorities were literally powerless to enforce the laws. This consideration, and the reports of the condition of affairs at the points on the railroad in the hands of the strikers, induced the governor to yield to the demands made upon him, and ask aid of the Federal government. Accordingly, on the 18th of July, he sent the following telegram to the President of the United States, informing him of the state of affairs in West Virginia, and demanding assistance from the Federal government:

WHEELING, W. Va., July 18th.

To His EXCELLENCY R. B. HAYES, President of the
United States:

Owing to unlawful combinations and domestic violence now existing at Martinsburg and other points along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, it is impossible with any force at my command to execute the laws of the State. I therefore call upon your Excellency for the assistance of the United States military to protect the law-abiding people of the State against domestic violence, and to maintain the supremacy of the law. The Legislature is not now in session, and

could not be assembled in time to take any action in the emergency. A force of from two to three hundred should be sent without delay to Martinsburg, where my aide, Colonel Delaplaine, will meet and confer with the officers in command.

HENRY M. MATHEWS, *Governor of West Virginia.*

To this telegram he received the following reply, from the Secretary of War:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., }
July 18th, 1877. }

To GOVERNOR HENRY MATHEWS, Wheeling, W. Va.:

Your despatch to the President asking for troops is received. The President is averse to intervention unless it is clearly shown that the State is unable to suppress the insurrection. Please furnish a statement of facts. What force can the State raise? How strong are the insurgents?

GEO. W. McCRARY, *Secretary of War.*

To this the Governor replied:

WHEELING, W. VA., July 18th.

The HON. GEO. W. McCRARY, Secretary of War:

The only organized force in the State consists of four companies. Two of them are at Martinsburg, and in sympathy with the rioters, who are believed to be 800 strong. Another company is thirty-eight miles from a railroad, and only one company of forty-eight men is efficient. There is no organized militia in the State. I will send Colonel Delaplaine to see the President, if desired. He is at Martinsburg. I have been reluctant to call on the President, but deemed it necessary, to prevent bloodshed.

HENRY M. MATHEWS.

Being satisfied that the call of the Governor of West Virginia was fully warranted by the situation of affairs

in his State, and by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, President Hayes directed the Secretary of War to send a sufficient force at once to Martinsburg. At the same time he issued the following proclamation to the rioters:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, It is provided in the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect every State in this Union on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence; and,

Whereas, The Governor of the State of West Virginia has represented that domestic violence exists in said State at Martinsburg, and at various other points along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, in said State, which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress; and,

Whereas, By laws in pursuance of the above it is provided (in the laws of the United States) that in all cases of insurrection in any State, or of obstruction to the laws thereof, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, on application of the Legislature of such State, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, to call forth the militia of any other State or States or to employ such part of the land and naval force as shall be necessary for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection or causing the laws to be duly executed; and,

Whereas, The Legislature of said State is not now in session and cannot be convened in time to meet the present emergency, and the Executive of said State, under section 4 of Article IV. of the Constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, has made application to me in the premises for such part of the military force of the United States as may be necessary and adequate to protect said State

and the citizens thereof against domestic violence, and to enforce the due execution of the laws ; and,

Whereas, It is required that whenever it may be necessary in the judgment of the President to use the military force for the purpose aforesaid, he shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective homes within a limited time :

Now, therefore, I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, do hereby make proclamation and command all persons engaged in said unlawful and insurrectionary proceedings to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before twelve o'clock noon of the 19th day of July instant, and hereafter abandon said combinations and submit themselves to the laws and constituted authorities of said State, and I invoke the aid and co-operation of all good citizens thereof to uphold the laws and preserve the public peace.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 18th day of July, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and second. R. B. HAYES.

By the President :

F. A. SEWARD, *Acting Secretary of State.*

In accordance with the President's directions, the Secretary of War ordered General French to proceed, with the troops under his command at the Washington Arsenal, and a detachment from Fort McHenry, at Baltimore, about 400 in all, to Martinsburg, and there to report to Colonel Delaplaine, Governor Mathews' aide. Transportation was furnished by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and the troops left Washington on a special train on the night of the 18th of July.

All through the 18th, the excitement at Martinsburg continued at fever heat. Early in the morning a train from Wheeling arrived, bringing Colonel Delaplaine, of the Governor's staff, and the Mathews' Light Guard, numbering thirty-six men, under the command of Captain Miller. Several hundred people congregated at the depot when the military arrived, in a state of great excitement, and a conflict was momentarily expected. The strikers were all armed with pistols and concealed weapons, having left their guns at their place of rendezvous. Mr. William Keyser, second Vice-President of the railroad company, accompanied the militia in his special car from Grafton. The officers of the company held a conference with the railroad officials and the civil and military authorities of Martinsburg immediately after the arrival of the train, and it was determined for the time being, as a matter of precaution, not to remove the company from the cars, as their appearance on the street would further exasperate the strikers, and an attack might be made before a plan of operation could be determined upon. Accordingly the men remained cooped during the day in the three cars, which had been detached from the train and left standing in front of the platform under the scorching rays of the sun. The shutters of the windows were even drawn down, and all that could be seen of the military was a guard of one man on each car platform to prevent any one from entering. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the company left the cars, and marched to the court-house, where they were assigned quarters. No disturbance attended their occupation of the building.

Half a dozen or more of the ringleaders in the strike called to see Captain Miller in his quarters in the rear

car soon after arriving, and asked to know what he proposed to do. They referred to the high price of flour, and to the almost starving condition of the men whose wages were now proposed further to be cut down. Captain Miller replied that he had nothing to do with the price of flour; that he came to see that the trains passed unmolested, and that he was determined to carry out his orders if his entire company was used up in the attempt.

At a special meeting of the town council of Martinsburg, a resolution was adopted requesting all liquor-dealers and saloon-keepers to close their shops. Many of the strikers had been drinking pretty freely, but they generally kept quiet, and there was not a single arrest for disorderly conduct, though the local authorities were disposed to forbear with them to prevent any conflict.

At noon the two hundred employés of the repair-shops at Martinsburg were ordered by the leaders to join in the strike, but refused to do so. Strikers from other divisions were constantly arriving in small numbers on every train. A number of the strikers remained in the vicinity of the depot, while large bodies of them were located at the switches.

Anticipating trouble at Grafton, the junction of the main line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad with its Parkersburg branch, Governor Mathews repaired to that place on the 17th. The strikers at this point cut the bolts and connecting-chains of all the freight engines, unsutting them for use. Men were also violently removed from the engines. The strikers had full possession, and defied the civil authorities to arrest them. The mayor issued a proclamation, in which he said that

"certain persons of the town are, by threats, intimidation, and perhaps, in certain instances, by actual violence, preventing certain other citizens from engaging in their usual avocations, and interfering with the private business of such well-disposed citizens. I therefore call on all persons to desist from such threats, and will enforce the law at all hazards." The strikers had a meeting, and passed resolutions to hold out to the bitter end, whatever might come of it.

On the morning of the 17th, two of the leaders of the mob were arrested. As the Wheeling militia company passed through Grafton, *en route* for Martinsburg, a squad of seven men was detailed to guard the prisoners. The mob, encouraged by the smallness of this force, endeavored to intimidate the militia and rescue the prisoners; but the soldiers were firm and the strikers prudently decided not to provoke a conflict. That night a dastardly attack was made on Governor Mathews at the hotel of the town. The building was stoned by the strikers, and a missile weighing several pounds was thrown with great force through the window of the Governor's room as he was retiring. Happily it missed him, and fell upon the bed.

Governor Mathews and Colonel Delaplaine were promptly informed of the departure from Washington of the troops under General French; but on the night of the 18th, matters seemed so threatening at Martinsburg, that, shortly after midnight, Colonel Delaplaine sent the following telegram to Washington:

MARTINSBURG, W. VA., July 18th.

To HON. G. W. McCRARY, Secretary of War:

I fear that the forces you have sent will be insufficient. Let us have 100 more rifles and two pieces of artillery. R. M. DELAPLAINE, Col. and A. D. C.

Governor Mathews also sent the following telegram from Wheeling :

To the Secretary of War, Washington :

Please send in addition 100 men and two pieces of artillery.

HENRY M. MATHEWS, Governor.

Upon receipt of these telegrams, the Secretary of War directed General Barry, commanding at Fort McHenry, to hold two field-pieces in readiness as foot artillery, subject to further orders, and on the morning of the 19th General Barry replied that the guns were ready to move on receipt of orders for that purpose.

The train bearing General French and the "Regulars" reached Martinsburg at half-past six o'clock on the morning of the 19th of July. Upon consultation with General French, Colonel Delaplaine concluded to withdraw the request for more troops, and telegraphed the War Department at Washington to that effect.

Immediately upon his arrival at Martinsburg, General French caused the President's proclamation to be printed in hand-bill form and circulated through the town and along the railroad. The proclamation was received without demonstration. There were large throngs about the hotels, but all appeared good-humored, and the prominent strikers said there would be no demonstration against person and property. Justice Williams, in the presence of Sheriff Nadenbush, read a request from Governor Mathews to the men assembled at the crossing to disperse, and desist from further interference with the trains. After the proclamation had been circulated, the fact was announced to the War Department as follows :

MARTINSBURG, W. VA., July 19th.

COLONEL VINCENT, Adjutant-General:

Proclamation printed. Now being circulated. After twelve o'clock, if the insurgents have not dispersed, the troops under my command will proceed to enforce the order of the President. At present everything seems quiet, and I doubt whether anything more than a demonstration will be required. Whatever action I may determine upon will be after consultation with and full concurrence of Colonel Delaplaine, aid to the Governor.

FRENCH, *Colonel commanding.*

At the same time General French issued the following notice to the strikers and their sympathizers:

HEAD-QUARTERS UNITED STATES TROOPS, }
MARTINSBURG, W. VA., July 19th, 1877. }

Due notification having been given by the proclamation of the President of the United States to those concerned, the undersigned warns all persons engaged in the interruption of travel on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, that the trains must not be impeded, and whoever undertake it do so at their own peril.

WILLIAM H. FRENCH, *Brev. Maj.-Gen. U. S. A.,*
Col. 4th Artillery, commanding.

At noon, on the 19th of July, the Federal troops took possession of the railroad yards and property at Martinsburg, and the railroad officials prepared to resume the running of the trains under their protection. During the afternoon two freight trains were started out of Martinsburg, one in each direction. Lieutenant Koesh, with a detachment of Battery F, Fourth Artillery, was called out and cleared the track. The citizens were compelled to leave the yard, so that there should be no obstruction. Captain Rogers, from Fort McHenry, had command of the troops. There was much excite-

ment, but no violence, and at 3.14 p. m. the coal train east with No. 4 engine left the yard. As it moved off several strikers occupied the hill alongside the track, which was covered with rocks. The military presented arms, and there was no demonstration. No. 4 took a detachment of ten men, under Lieutenant Lewis, as far as Harper's Ferry.

Engine No. 423 started off westward with a train of house cars at the same time that the coal train left. Before it reached the corporation limits the fireman deserted, and the train remained stationary until 4.42 p. m., when it moved off, with George Zepp as fireman. Zepp walked up the track with a navy revolver in his hand, followed by his mother, who tried to dissuade him from going. Some of the friends of the strikers ran towards him to try to prevent him from going, but he waved his pistol over his head, and marched boldly to the engine and took his place. The train then moved off. There were several soldiers in the cab, and ten in all on the train, to protect the engineer and fireman and the train. No further trouble was experienced, and the train passed Sir John's Run all right. It went out in charge of engineer John Manford.

During the day several of the strikers were arrested and placed under guard. During the 20th, other trains were despatched from Martinsburg, and the blockade at that place was raised.

Matters at Keyser were so bad that, on the 19th, General French sent a detachment of ten men under Lieutenant Curtis, to that place. They went by a special train, and reached Keyser early the next morning. The rioters were warned of the approach of the

train by the explosion of torpedoes, which had been placed on the track for that purpose, and when Lieutenant Curtis arrived at the depot at Keyser, he found a mob of 200 men, mostly armed, in possession. With his little force, he was powerless to do anything. Trains which came in afterwards were stopped by the



WILLS' CREEK NARROWS, MD., ON THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD.

strikers as fast as they arrived, and the firemen and engineers taken off by the mob. Lieutenant Curtis at once telegraphed to General French, informing him of the state of affairs, and was directed to retire to Cumberland, Maryland, to which place he withdrew as soon as possible.

In the meantime the disaffection continued to spread along the road. The passenger and mail trains had not been interfered with thus far, but the strikers at Cumberland, Keyser, Grafton, and other points, were firm in their determination that no freight trains should be run. At Keyser, on the night of the 19th, a meeting of workmen was held, at which the following resolutions were adopted :

Resolved, That we, the men of the Third Division, will abide by the decision of our brother divisions in regard to wages in the future, and that we will stay by them in the present trouble until such decision is arrived at, as we have been oppressed by our superior officers beyond endurance.

Resolved, That we, the men of the Third Division, have soberly and calmly considered the step we have taken, and declare that at the present state of wages which the company have imposed upon us, we cannot live and provide our wives and children with the necessities of life, and that we only ask for wages that will enable us to provide such necessities.

Resolved, That we uphold the other divisions in the step they have taken in regard to the present trouble.

At Cumberland matters were especially bad. There, as at other points on the line, the original strikers had been joined by large numbers of idle and disreputable persons, who were attracted by the hope of plunder. The mob, thus constituted, held the depot and yards and set the city authorities at defiance. As the trains sent out from Martinsburg by General French reached Cumberland, they were stopped by the rioters, and the engineers and firemen were forced to abandon their posts. Thus the blockade, which had been broken at

Martinsburg by the Federal troops, was established with equal rigor at Cumberland.

At Wheeling, the western terminus of the main line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, the excitement was very great. The men employed there stopped work, and joined in the strike, but attempted no violence. The company attempted to fill the places of the strikers with a party of men from Steubenville, Ohio, but the new comers were warned off by the strikers, who threatened them with assassination if they went to work.

The state of affairs along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad had now become so threatening that the force of regulars under General French was largely augmented. The troubles continued to increase, and brought on the Baltimore riots, which we propose to relate in another chapter.

In the meantime, the Governor of Maryland, having called upon the Federal government for aid, General French, on the 21st, after leaving a strong force at Martinsburg, Sir John's Run, and other points, to keep the road open, set out for Cumberland with two companies to take possession of the road at that point. It was his intention to send detachments to Keyser, Grafton, and other points, and open the road along its entire line. At Cumberland, however, a serious misunderstanding occurred between General French and the railroad officials, which induced General French to ask the War Department to relieve him of his command. His request was granted, and he was succeeded by General Getty.

Both parties to the quarrel published statements, which are as follows

Statement of Railroad Officials.

There was no refusal to furnish transportation to General French from Cumberland to Keyser. He was told, however, that the special troop train would not go to Wheeling without orders from Vice-President King, of the Baltimore & Ohio, and the reasons for this were :

First—The condition of the road west from Cumberland.

Second—The drunken condition of General French.

Third—This was an irregular train, and that no notice had been furnished Colonel Sharp or any one else that General French desired to go beyond Cumberland.

No provision whatever was made to run this train over the mountains. Doubtless the strikers had notified the agent at Keyser that as there was no provision made to run this train, parties on the line of the road might think that it was a freight train and commit some depredation.

The company had furnished three gallons of whiskey and two dozen bottles of ale within the last twenty-four hours for use in General French's private car, and on arriving at Cumberland fresh supplies of ale were asked for. Colonel Sharp was informed that General French when he left Martinsburg had given orders to go to Cumberland, but Colonel Sharp received no communication whatever to this effect from General French. General French had telegraphed on Saturday night to Colonel Sharp that he wanted a special train in order that he might move his head-quarters at pleasure, and this had been furnished in answer to his request. Colonel Sharp has not been advised that he was to receive orders for the running of trains from others than the President or Vice-President of the company.

"If in my judgment," said Colonel Sharp, "it is not safe to run a special or irregular train, I certainly am not authorized to do it, except upon the order of my superior officers, the President and Vice-President."

Colonel Douglas also states that General French's orders were to report to the Governor of the State, and upon arriving at Martinsburg the General reported to him (Douglas) as the Governor's representative; said he recognized his authority and requested him to order Colonel Sharp to send the train on. Colonel Douglas said he would communicate General French's request to Governor Carroll for orders, but that he did not propose to run the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company.

Statement of General French.

General French has furnished a statement for publication which is backed by his officers. All the officers of General French have also telegraphed the Adjutant General that the report of his drunkenness is utterly false. The following is General French's statement, dated to-day :

I received the telegram at Martinsburg yesterday afternoon to bring the troops and establish my headquarters here. I telegraphed to Sharp to furnish me a special car to bring me to Cumberland. I put in two companies of artillery, and, with a full consultation with Colonel Delaplaine, the aide of the Governor of West Virginia, it was decided that I should come here, assume command, and then run up the road as far as Grafton, and that he and I should proceed to Wheeling to see the Governor of West Virginia, who had been telegraphed of our coming. When I arrived here I remained long enough to issue my orders, assuming command and seeing Colonel Douglas, of Governor Carroll's staff. I went back to the car and gave orders to go ahead. I was informed that Colonel Sharp said that he had no orders to go on. I asked one of my officers to go and see Colonel Sharp and tell him that

I was very anxious to go forward, and that it was very important I should without attracting any attention here. This officer reported to me that Colonel Sharp said that if General French wanted to see him he must come to his office. I told the officer to tell Colonel Sharp I wanted to see him in my car in reference to the cause of the delay. After a long time Colonel Sharp came to the car, and I asked him why we were detained there. A large crowd had meantime gathered around the train. He told me he was waiting to get a despatch from the Vice-President of the road to know whether I would be permitted to go on. I told him I was the judge of whether I should go on or stay; that I was acting under the orders of the War Department, and was given a wide discretion. He then went out of the car, and I telegraphed the state of the case to the Adjutant-General, and received a despatch in return that Sharp was ordered to obey my orders. The train was then started, and when it got to Keyser it was quite late in the night. I was there instructed by an order from the War Department to remain till further orders were received.

Meanwhile I wrote a despatch to the War Department complaining of the agents of the road, and requesting that some other officer might be detailed to relieve me. I have received a despatch directing me to turn over my command to the next officer in rank.

I will give my word of honor, if any whiskey was sent in the officers' private car, I did not see it. The only articles furnished that I know of were a jug of seltzer and a bottle of claret.

I have a peculiar kind of temper, and when I am aroused might create the impression that I had consumed thirty gallons of proof instead of three, as charged by the railroad officials. I am willing that the fullest inquiry should be made, and for this I give my free permission. Sharp had no business to stop my car while on government duty, and not on that of

the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. I suppose their motive was a good one, but I was not informed of it. I went up the road to free the trains, as has been done at Martinsburg. I had troops enough to do it. I intended to leave a battalion at Keyser and one at Grafton, and thus keep the whole road open. I start back to Baltimore at two P. M. to report to the Adjutant-General.

I had been under orders to go to California, but this railroad business changed my plans. I think it outrageous if the officials put whiskey on board that they should turn afterward on the officers for accepting the hospitality.

In connection with the above the following telegrams explain themselves :

WASHINGTON, July 21st, 1877.

To GENERAL FRENCH, Martinsburg, West Va.:

The Governor of West Virginia has requested that your head-quarters be not moved from Martinsburg for the present. General Hancock will be at Baltimore to-morrow morning, at Barnum's. Your written report has been submitted to the Secretary. No doubt it will be eminently satisfactory to him, as have been all your other reports.

VINCENT, Assistant Adjutant-General.

WASHINGTON, July 21st, 1877.

To GENERAL FRENCH, commanding Martinsburg, W. Va.:

The Secretary of War directs that you send such portion of your command as you can spare to Cumberland, there to report to Colonel Douglas, of Governor Carroll's staff, to act under orders of the Governor. Acknowledge receipt and report, keeping the Governor of West Virginia advised.

VINCENT, Assistant Adjutant-General.

MARTINSBURG, W. VA., July 21st, 1877.

To COLONEL SHARP:

Have special train here subject to my orders. I may

or may not shift my head-quarters. Communicate this despatch to Captain Rodgers.

FRENCH, commanding.

TRAIN ON A SWITCH SOMEWHERE BETWEEN }
CUMBERLAND AND KEYSER, July 22d—9.40 P. M. }

To MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK, Baltimore:

We started from Martinsburg at a quarter to four p. m. This train is now stopped. Who or by whose orders I do not know. Should be at Grafton now, permitting me to meet the Governor of West Virginia as by agreement. The officials of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad have been rude to my subalterns, and unless the government takes its control of the line, which is now perfectly clear or would have been by to-morrow, will require the States of Maryland and West Virginia to keep it open. The army has done its duty. The soldiers detained in the cars are suffering by the assumption of this official.

FRENCH.

P. S.—Your despatch received at forty minutes past nine p. m. the 22d inst. I have determined not to be stopped again. I will arrest any officials of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad who attempt to interfere with the orders I receive from the Secretary of War or yourself.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 22d, 1877.

To GENERAL FRENCH, Cumberland, Md.:

You will take orders from General Hancock only in addition to those already given. The railroad officials are not to interfere or control.

GEORGE W. McCRARY, Secretary of War.

BALTIMORE, MD., July 22d, 1877.

To GENERAL WILLIAM H. FRENCH:

Vice-President King has sent a telegram to Mr. Sharp to obey your orders in the matter of furnishing trains.

By command of Major-General Hancock.

MITCHELL, Aide-de-Camp.

KEYSER, July 23d, 1877—12.25 A. M.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK, Barnum's Hotel:

Telegram received. Orders have been obeyed. I had assumed command and established my headquarters at Cumberland at quarter of seven P. M. to follow up the proclamation of the President of the United States. My being detained here instead of being at Grafton is due to the insolence of railroad officials, not only to myself, but to my subordinates. If I cannot act independent of them in the delicate duties which have heretofore been performed by me with satisfaction to the War Department, and without shedding the blood of the employés of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, it would be preferable to have another officer who would be less objectionable to that corporation.

W. H. FRENCH,

Colonel and Brevet Major-General commanding.

General Getty, who succeeded General French in the command of the United States forces along the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, posted his troops at the prominent points on the line, and by a firm display of force prevented any further outbreak. The terrible occurrences in other parts of the country now brought the strikers to their senses, and showed them that the movement had been taken out of their hands, and had become a reign of lawlessness for which the country would hold them responsible. By degrees they came to a realization of their terrible mistake, and either returned to their posts, or ceased their interference with the business of the company.

The only attempt at violence after this occurred near Keyser, on the night of the 30th of July. A train, bearing Battery E, of the 5th Artillery, under command of Lieutenant Simpson, bound for Piedmont, was

thrown from the track by the strikers about two miles west of Keyser, by a misplaced switch. The train was moving at the rate of three miles an hour. With faster speed the train would have been thrown down a deep embankment, with serious loss of life. The only personal injury was to private George Hamilton, who had his leg badly crushed between the cab and tender. Upon examination it was found that the three switches



HARPER'S FERRY, ON THE BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD.

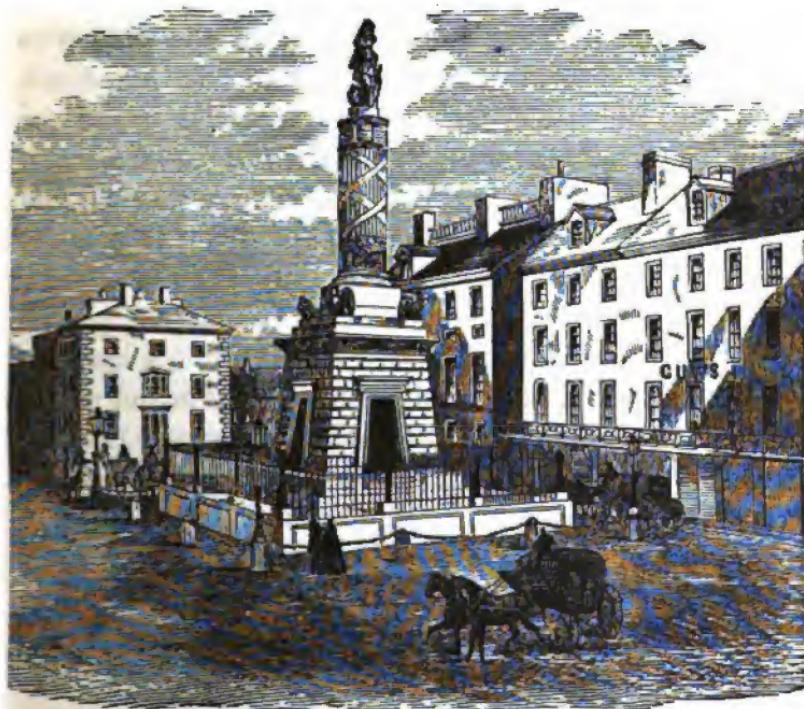
of the main track were unlocked and thrown open. The locks were found on the track near by. A portion of the battery proceeded to walk to Piedmont, and utilized a hand-car which they found further on. A guard was left to take charge of the disabled train, which is yet off the track. Nobody was seen in the vicinity.

On the same day twenty-three disorderly persons were arrested by the regulars near Keyser. They had boarded the western bound express train, which passed Keyser at three o'clock in the afternoon, as it was moving out with the intention of forcing their passage to Piedmont. This movement was noticed at the station, and a train with fifty regulars, under Lieutenant Day, was despatched after the express. It was overtaken, and the conductor indicated the men who refused to pay, and they were marched to a caboose car, returned to Keyser and placed under guard for alleged riotous conduct. The train was crowded with passengers, including many ladies. There was a scene of intense excitement among them when the soldiers appeared and were ordered to load their weapons. Several ladies screamed, and would not be pacified till the soldiers and rioters had disappeared. A detachment of one hundred troops was drawn up in line when the train returned, and the prisoners were marched between a double line of fixed bayonets to their place of confinement.

When the arrest of these persons became known, a large crowd gathered about the station, in the upper room of which the prisoners were confined. A letter from Keyser thus describes the scene there :

At least twenty-three of the rioters have been arrested, and are now in the second story of the main station. The building is surrounded by the friends of the prisoners, numbering probably 300, who are kept at a respectful distance by a hollow square of pickets. They are loudly protesting against the action of General Getty and his subordinate officer, Colonel Russell, for the arrest of the twenty-three men. They claim that

the liberties of citizens have been infringed by the military without warrant of law. A committee have just waited at the depot upon Sheriff Sims, of Mineral county, of which Keyser is the county-seat, and demanded that he shall vindicate the superiority of the civil over military law by releasing the prisoners. They seem to be strong advocates of civil law since the soldiers arrived. The sheriff protested that the men were



BATTLE MONUMENT, BALTIMORE.

not his prisoners. The sheriff stood upon an elevated platform overlooking the crowd. He remained for several minutes in this conspicuous position, quietly looking the excited men in their faces. Finally he said :

“ You had better keep cool. Now, this is all nonsense, boys. The chaps up-stairs will get no more than

they deserve, my word for it." At this he turned and walked away a short distance. The crowd were non-plussed; they had depended upon the sheriff, and could not understand his refusal to perform what they deemed his duty as high sheriff.

This was the last dying gasp of the strike on the main-line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad: Under the protection of the Federal troops, the business of the road was resumed, and by the last of July the line was reopened for traffic from Baltimore to the Ohio river. New men were in all cases found to fill the places of those who refused to work; the glut in the labor market rendering it easy for the company to obtain immediately any number of men to whom they could guarantee protection from violence at the hands of the strikers. This was furnished by the regulars.

In the meantime the strikers at Baltimore had appointed a committee to wait upon the authorities of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and lay before them a statement of their grievances and their demands for redress. This was done, and on the 26th of July the company made the following reply :

BALTIMORE, July 26th, 1877.

Messrs. J. H. Elder, President; C. Sheckles, Paul Molesworth, J. D. Price:

GENTLEMEN:—I am in receipt of your communication enclosing resolutions adopted at a meeting of engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen, proposing the following rates of wages:—Engineers, first-class, \$3.50; second-class, \$3; conductors, \$2.50; firemen and brakemen, \$2 per day.

In declining this proposition, it is but proper and right that the reasons which have led to this conclusion should be explained,

The great depression in business which commenced in the autumn of 1873 has continued growing from bad to worse. The effect upon the Baltimore & Ohio Company has shown continued large decreases of revenue. The other trunk lines had reduced wages ten per cent., one of them on 1st of June and two of them on 1st of July, and at that date a similar reduction had been made on many of the leading lines in the country.

It will be observed that the Baltimore & Ohio Company was the last company which competes for the great trade of the West which made the reduction of ten per cent.

That the whole question may be understood, I present a table of wages paid trainmen in 1861, in 1877 after the reduction, and the rate you now propose:

	January, 1861, Pay Received.	Pay received after deduct- ing 10 per cent., July 14, 1877.	Pay proposed by the com- mittee.
Tonnage conductors.....	\$1.66	\$2.25	\$2.50
1.50		2.03 as a minimum.	
1.33		1.80	"
Tonnage brakemen.....	\$1.33	\$1.58	\$2.00
1.17		1.35 as a minimum.	
1.00		.....	"
Tonnage enginemen.....	\$3.00	*\$2.93	\$3.50
2.95		2.90	3.00
2.50		2.48	.....
2.25		2.25	.....
2.00		.....	.....
1.33		.....	.....
Tonnage firemen.....	\$1.75	\$1.53	\$2.00
1.50		1.35 as a minimum.	
1.33		.....	"
1.11		.....	.....

* Premium, 25 cents, not included.

As compared with 1861, the rate will exceed those in operation at that period to the extent of about thirty-five per cent. The rates of through freight in

1861 were double those of 1877, and for coal the rate was \$2.31, whilst in June, 1877, it was but \$1.37 per ton from Cumberland to Baltimore.

The officers of the company are sure that it is only necessary to submit these facts and figures to satisfy every reasonable man in the service that the wages you propose cannot be paid. Since the panic of 1873 not only have the rates of through freight and other traffic been reduced by severe and active competition, but the quantity in the aggregate has diminished. Especially is this true in regard to the coal trade, which for many years has been the leading article transported over the company's lines.

The consideration of this branch of the subject brings me to call your attention to the motives which governed the company in employing a greater number of men than were required in the handling of trains. Only a limited amount of business could be secured. It would have been quite as satisfactory to the company to have kept in the service only the number of men needed for the work, but it was regarded as more humane, in view of the great scarcity of work generally, to distribute the limited amount of business amongst the greatest practicable number.

Whilst it is a subject of regret that these motives have been misunderstood, and in a great degree produced the present troubles amongst our trainmen, it is satisfactory to know that these difficulties can be readily adjusted in such a manner as to protect materially the interest of the company and of those it employs. Fully impressed with this belief, I hope there will be no difficulty in the way of your returning to work, so that the running of freight trains may be at once resumed.

The experience of the last ten days must satisfy every one that if freight trains are stopped on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, the city of Baltimore is not only deprived of the great commercial advantages

which she has heretofore enjoyed, but the entire community is made to feel that all business must be seriously crippled, and the prices of families' supplies greatly increased.

You will thus see that the resumption of the running of freight trains on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is a matter in which all our citizens of every calling are vitally interested. Respectfully yours,

JOHN KING, JR.,
Vice-President.

4

CHAPTER II.

THE BALTIMORE RIOTS.

The Strike at Cumberland—The City appeals to the State for Aid—The Fifth Maryland ordered to Cumberland—Proclamation of Governor Carroll—The Troops Summoned—Excitement in Baltimore—Sounding the Military Call—The Troops march out—Attack on the 5th Regiment—Firmness of the Troops—Assembling of the 6th Regiment—The Mob Attack the Armory—The Regiment marches out—The Battle in the Streets—The Regiment reaches the Depot—Attack on the Depot by the Mob—Destruction of Railroad Property—The Depot Fired—The Mob Driven Back and the Flames Extinguished—Governor Carroll Calls on the President of the United States for Assistance—Troops ordered to Baltimore—General Hancock in Command—The President's Proclamation—The Mob Defeated by the Police—A Night of Terror—Thrilling Scenes in Baltimore—Arrival of General Hancock and the Regulars—The Mob Cowed—The Troubles Come to an End—The Miners' Strike in Western Maryland—Trouble on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal—It is Put Down.

We have spoken of the state of affairs at Cumberland, Maryland. It grew worse hourly. The strikers were joined by a large body of idle and disorderly men and boys, and by a number of miners from the neighboring mines, and the mob soon attained proportions which rendered the city authorities powerless to deal with it. As fast as the trains sent out from Martinsburg by General French arrived, they were stopped by the strikers, and the engineers and firemen were forced to abandon their engines. The trains were hauled on a side track, and the blockade was complete.

Finding himself powerless to deal with the riot, the Mayor of Cumberland reported the state of affairs by telegraph to the Governor of Maryland, and at the same time the officers of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad

Company asked the protection of the State government for their property within the limits of Maryland. Governor Carroll, appreciating the gravity of the situation, promptly decided to take such steps as were necessary for the preservation of order at the threatened points. On the afternoon of the 20th of July he sent the following order to the commander of the first brigade of Maryland militia:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
BALTIMORE, July 20th, 1877. }

BRIG.-GEN. JAMES R. HERBERT, Commander First Brigade Md. N. G.:

SIR:—You will proceed at once with the 5th Regiment of your command to the city of Cumberland to aid in the suppression of riot and lawlessness along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in this State, and there await further orders.

JOHN LEE CARROLL,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

At the same time he issued the following proclamation :

Whereas, It has come to the knowledge of the executive that combinations of men have been formed at various points along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, in this State, and that a conspiracy exists, the object of which is to impede the traffic and interfere with the legitimate business of the said railroad company ; and,

Whereas, Various acts of lawlessness and intimidation to effect this purpose have been perpetrated in this State by bodies of men with whom the local authorities are, in some instances, incompetent to deal ; and,

Whereas, It is of the first importance that good order should everywhere prevail, and that citizens of every class should be protected :

Therefore, I, John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland, by virtue of the authority vested in me, do hereby issue this my proclamation, calling upon all citizens of this State to abstain from acts of lawlessness, and aid lawful authorities in the maintenance of peace and order.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Maryland, at the city of Baltimore, this 20th day of July, 1877.

JOHN LEE CARROLL.

By the Governor:

R. C. HOLLIDAY, *Secretary of State.*

Upon the receipt of his orders, about three o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th, General Herbert informed Governor Carroll that there was hardly time enough between that hour and the hour when the trains would depart for Cumberland to summon the soldiers and get them ready for a campaign. He therefore suggested that an alarm known as the "military call," No. 151, be struck, which would summon the soldiers to their armories. Governor Carroll replied that he feared that the alarm would summon strikers as well as the soldiers, and that it must not be sounded. General Herbert therefore sent for Captain Zollinger, senior captain of the 5th Regiment, informed him of the governor's order, and directed him to have the troops ready to march at 6 P. M. About half-past five o'clock General Herbert was informed that only one hundred and fifty members of the 5th had assembled at their armory, and that to obtain more it was necessary that the alarm signal should be sounded. Governor Carroll thereupon gave his consent to the sounding of the alarm, and it was duly rung.

It was nearly six o'clock, the hour when the thousands of laborers are released from work, when the booming of the bells was heard over the city. A certain proportion of the multitude that came from the workshops, upon hearing the alarm, hastened to the armory of the 6th Regiment, situated on the second floor of a large building at the corner of Fifth and Front streets, and gazed for a time apathetically at the busy soldiers. In another part of the city, before the armory of the 5th Regiment, a large crowd also assembled, and every member, upon arriving, was greeted with cheers. The soldiers were fully equipped for the march with fatigue caps, blouse, gray trowsers, knapsacks, and blankets rolled. All were armed with Springfield breach-loading rifles, and had twenty rounds of ammunition, the officers being armed with revolvers. Captain Zollinger went among his men, giving this one and that one advice about his equipment, and finally said that the time had come when they were no longer holiday soldiers, and must act with the coolness of regulars.

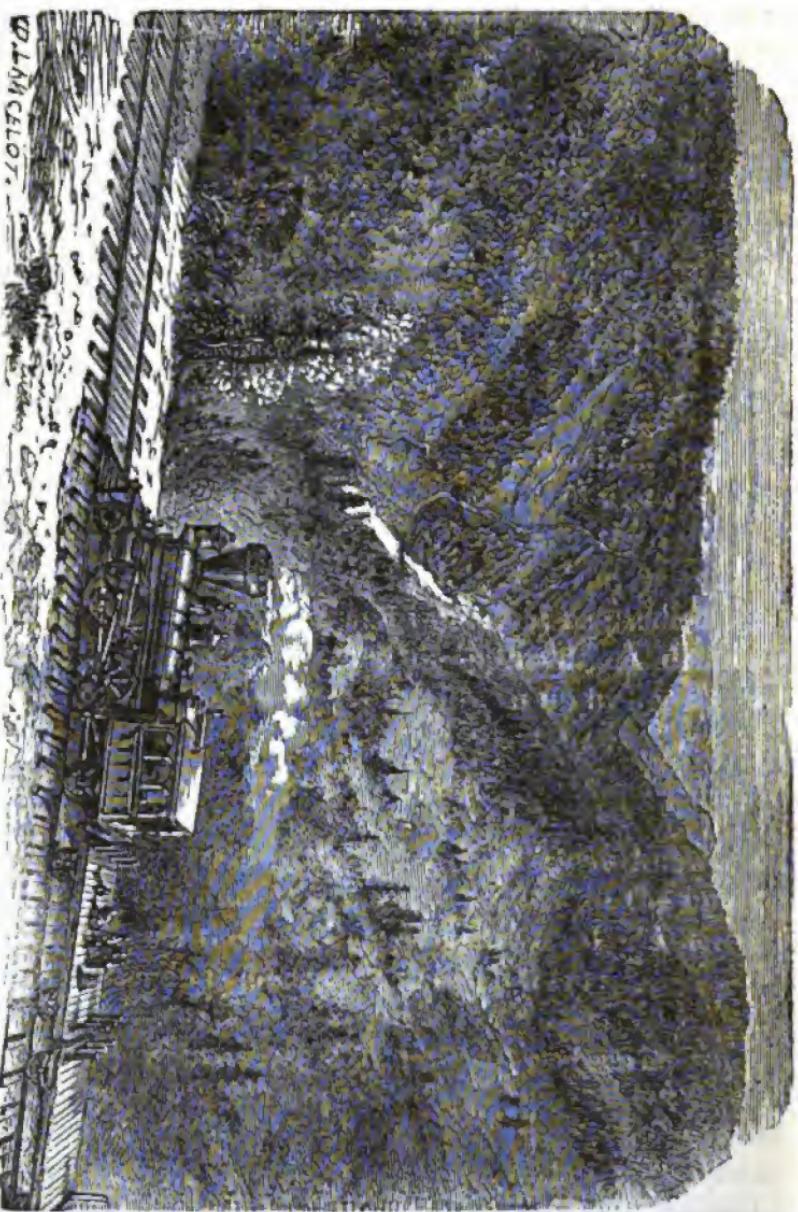
The 5th was the first regiment ready, and moved out of its armory two hundred strong, about half-past seven o'clock, and took up the line of march for the Camden street depot. The regiment marched through Garden street to Madison street, and then by way of Eutaw street to Camden street. Along the first part of their route the troops were heartily cheered, but about midway a few hisses were heard, and by the time the depot was reached the soldiers were surrounded by men trying to kill them. The regiment was first attacked near the junction of Eutaw and Lombard streets, while a crowd of jeering men suddenly threw

bricks and paving stones into the ranks of the troops. Lieutenant Rogers, of Company C, was struck in the breast by one of the missiles and severely injured. Several policemen at once dashed into the crowd and severely beat with their clubs the men who had flung the stones, while the injured lieutenant was carried into a neighboring building and cared for by the regimental surgeon. The regiment marched on, but as it marched was assailed with a shower of stones. About twenty soldiers were struck and injured by these missiles, but none severely. Captain Zollinger would not permit his men to fire, but ordered them to assist their wounded companions, and coolly proceeded on his way. Upon nearing the depot, it was perceived that the route was barred at Camden and Eutaw streets by a crowd of determined men armed with stones. A volley of stones was hurled at the regiment by this mob, and about twenty of the soldiers were struck and injured. Captain Zollinger would not permit his men to fire, but ordered them to fix bayonets, and prepare for a charge. He then drew his sword, and demanded of the mob a passage for his men, and ordered the latter to charge the mob at the double-quick. A burly man, who seemed to act as the leader of the mob, was struck on the head by the captain with the flat of his sword and knocked to one side. The regiment then charged into the depot, sweeping the mob before it. The special train of cars intended for the transportation of the regiment at this moment backed down to the depot before the platform upon which the soldiers were standing.

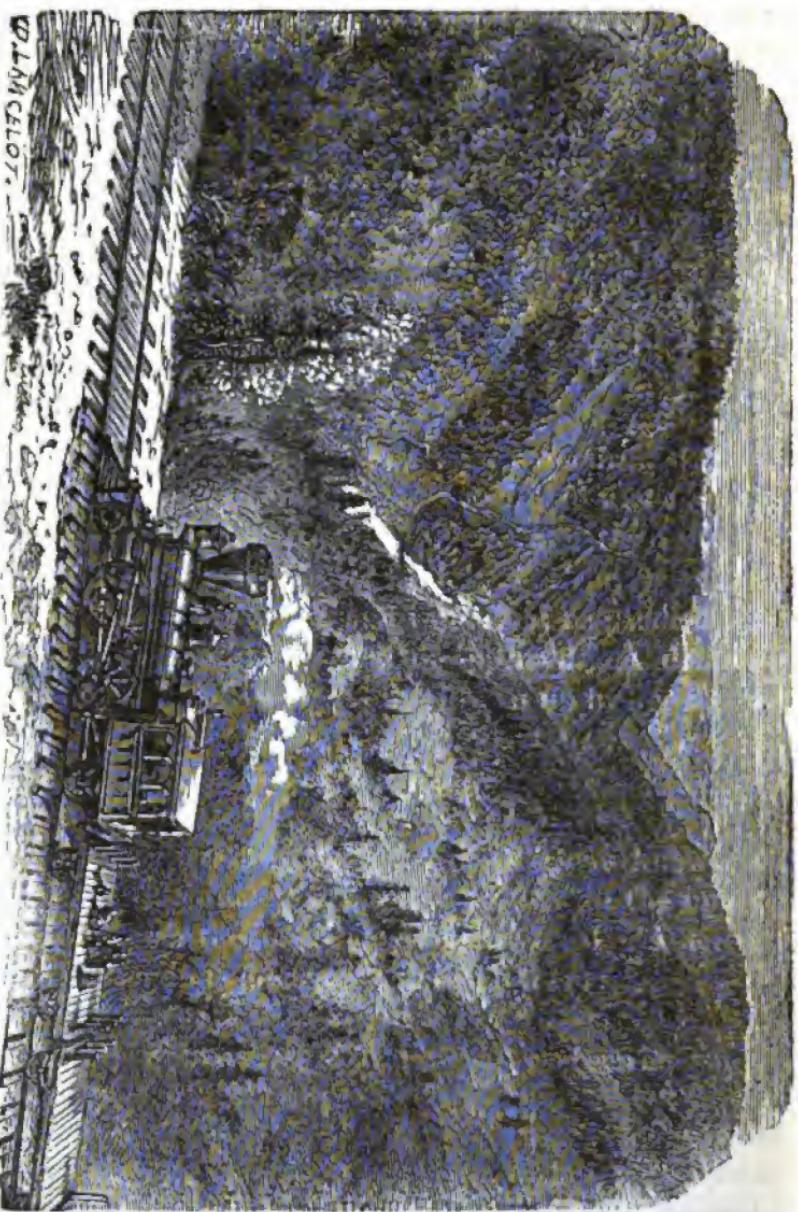
The mob, defeated at one point, now turned their attention to another. They pelted with stones the

engineer and firemen of the train, drove them from the locomotive, and so injured the locomotive that it could not be used. A few moments afterwards engine 407, engineer Byerly, was backed up to the Barré street entrance to the depot to connect with the No. 2 Chicago express, which was to leave at 8.15. The mob instantly attacked Byerly, and removed him from the locomotive. One of the mob then opened the throttle of the locomotive, and jumped from it as the massive machine moved off at a great rate of speed, without a guide, down the track. The locomotive ran into a freight train below Lee street, and was wrecked.

Thinking that the mob might be emboldened soon to attack the soldiers, General Herbert directed Captain Zollinger to drive the rioters away from the vicinity of the depot. The captain took Company C and charged with fixed bayonets some of the mob that were midway upon the platform north of Barré street. The crowd fled from the platform, but made a stand in the yard near Howard street, from which they hurled stones at the troops. These stones were obtained from a neighboring street, where unluckily the gas company was putting down some mains, and the roadway was torn up. The shower of stones was very heavy, and a number of the soldiers were hurt. These were taken into Vice-President King's private car, which had been turned into a hospital, and cared for. Company H was ordered to the assistance of Company C, but the soldiers were driven back upon attempting to force the rioters out of the yard. Governor Carroll and General Herbert thereupon requested the police authorities to summon to the depot all the policemen that could be spared from the station-houses.



FLAT TRAIN ON THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD.



Meantime the 6th Regiment had obeyed the summons to assemble, and its members had gathered at the armory. The members of the regiment gathered slowly, and it was not until half-past seven o'clock—at the very time that the 5th Regiment was leaving its armory—that a considerable number had assembled. For half an hour previous the members, as they entered the building, were hooted at, but no attack like that which followed was feared. Suddenly a brick was thrown into the doorway of the hall leading to the steps by which the soldiers ascended into the armory, and in another second a volley of stones was hurled through the windows of the armory. The four policemen at the doorway disappeared, and were succeeded by four soldiers. The streets of the vicinity were dotted here and there with heaps of cobble-stones, the gas company being engaged in putting down pipes; and in front of several large structures in process of construction were cartloads of bricks. The mob seized eagerly upon these missiles, hurled them at the outpost of the regiment on duty at the door, drove the men within the building, and then bombarded the windows. Every pane of glass on the Front street side was broken. Members of the regiment who arrived after this onslaught were assaulted and driven away from the building. One of the soldiers was seized and flung over the railings of the Fayette street bridge, but luckily fell upon a beam, and escaped falling into the stream. Major A. J. George, who was one of the late ones, was knocked down, beaten, and badly bruised about the body and head. C. L. Brown, who ventured into the street, was attacked by the crowd, thrown down, and kicked on the head. With great difficulty

he escaped into the building. Lieutenant Welly was assaulted and beaten.

An hour and a half passed, the crowd all the time becoming more aggressive. A large squad of police was unable to enforce order, and was driven into the building. At half-past eight o'clock, Colonel Peters selected three companies (Companies I, F, and B) to march to the depot, leaving 150 men of the regiment to guard the armory. The companies were formed and the order given to march out of the building. The stairs of the armory were so narrow that only two men could march down at a time. In this order the first company came out of the armory door. Instantly the mob began pelting the soldiers with all sorts of missiles, stones, pieces of iron and bricks. The soldiers wavered for a moment, and then fled into the building. This retreat greatly encouraged the mob, and the rioters shouted with triumph. In a few moments the soldiers dashed out of the building, and the foremost fired into the air, having been ordered to do so by Colonel Peters. The mob fell back frightened. Two of the companies were soon in line and ready to march. The crowd jeered at the soldiers, and finally renewed the attack upon them, this time using muskets and shot guns; the leaders assuring the assailants that the soldiers had nothing but blank cartridges in their guns. Some of the soldiers at last became exasperated, and without orders to do so, fired into the crowd. By this fire a bystander was killed, and a boy fifteen years old severely wounded.

The companies then marched towards the Camden street station; two companies moving by way of Front street to Baltimore street, and up Baltimore street to

SIXTH MARYLAND REGIMENT FIRING ON THE RIOTERS IN BALTIMORE



Gay; the other company by way of Front street to Gay street, and up Gay street to Baltimore street, and thence toward the depot. As the two companies passed along, the mob pressed heavily upon them, hurling stones and other missiles at them, and discharging muskets, shot guns, and pistols into the ranks. The soldiers in the rear, who were compelled to bear the brunt of this attack, stood it for a while, and then unable to endure more, and acting upon the first law of human nature, fired with deadly effect upon the mob. The rioters scattered immediately, but the next instant came together, and renewed their attack on the troops. In those parts of the street which were laid with the Belgian pavement, the mob found it difficult to obtain missiles to hurl at the troops, and the military were unmolested. Between Holiday and South street—a distance of one square—the soldiers fired many times; and the firing was also brisk from South to Calvert street, also one square. The street cars along the route were naturally empty. There was little noise beyond that caused by the musketry fire and the people running away from danger. The excitement afterward, however, when the dead and wounded were collected, was intense.

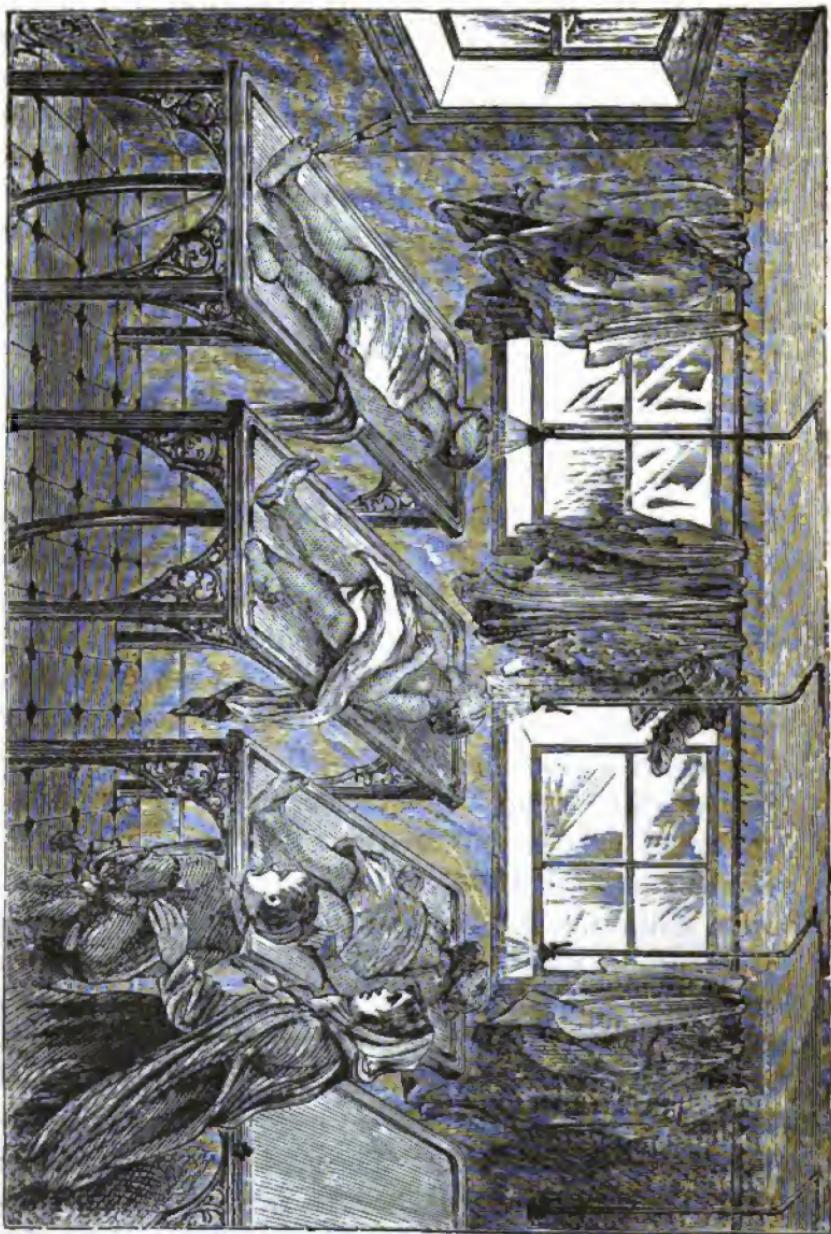
The companies of the 6th Regiment reached the Camden station at half-past eight o'clock, and joined their comrades of the 5th. The troops were formed on the platform, and the mob pressed closely around the depot, uttering the most savage threats against the soldiers. Two companies of the 5th Regiment held the mob at bay, and prevented the rioters from entering the depot. All the available police force was concentrated at the depot, and for a while it seemed that a bloody conflict was inevitable.

Inside of the Camden depot building Governor Carroll and Mayor Latrobe were present, with Vice-President King and other officers of the railroad company, General James R. Herbert commanding the military, and Police-Marshal Gray, Deputy-Marshall Frey, Police-Commissioner Gilmor, and the captains of police in the six districts into which the city is divided. The state of affairs in the city was now so threatening that it was decided not to send the troops away, but to hold them for the protection of the city.

The efforts of the mob were directed against the lower end of the depot building. A vigorous charge of the police drove the rioters from the Barre street crossing, and forced them back to Lee street, the extreme end of the depot. The office of the despatcher of trains, a wooden structure, is located at this end of the depot. It was next attacked by the mob, and was riddled with stones. The telegraph operators were driven from their posts, and compelled to fly for safety. The police again charged the mob, but the rioters returned the moment the police drew back, and soon had the lower end of the depot in their possession. Three passenger cars attached to an engine were set on fire, and the office of the despatcher of trains was also fired, the rioters hoping that this last act would result in the conflagration of the vast depot. The track beyond the depot was torn up for about two hundred yards, and the round house, some distance beyond the Camden station, was fired and considerable damage done to the locomotives. The fire department was at once summoned, and the mob was driven back by the police and soldiers. The engines were soon gotten to work, and the flames were extinguished. The police were very active during the night, and a number of arrests were made.

One of the Baltimore papers, commenting upon the character of the mob in that city, said : " The number of railroad employés engaged in the rioting here has from the first not exceeded 150 ; but at the outset of the affair they were joined by thousands of laborers and mechanics out of employment, and by the entire criminal classes of the city, eager for an occasion to plunder. A large number of men besides these, in various occupations, who have suffered a reduction of wages of late, are in a sullen temper with their employers and with capitalists generally. They imagine that they have been wronged, and welcome what they think is an attempt of the railroad men to right a similar wrong. Some have actively aided the rioters, and nearly all have fermented the movement by reckless and inflammatory talk. The communistic character of the riots is shown by every incident. The mob which assailed the 6th Regiment, Friday night, was not composed of railroad men, but was a miscellaneous assemblage of laborers. The crowd that stoned the United States troops to-day probably had not a single striker in its midst. So of the gangs gathered up by the police in the numerous combats around Camden station last night. Some were thieves and rowdies, and others were working-men, usually well-behaved, but now crazed by the excitement of the outbreak. It is a notable fact that most of the men who yelled 'bread' in the crowd that surged against the lines of the police and the soldiers last night had evidently money enough to buy whiskey, for they were half-drunk. Some of the strikers affirm that they and their friends were taking no part in the lawless acts, and that the movement has passed altogether out of their hands. The prejudice against the

DEAD BODIES OF RIOTERS AWAITING IDENTIFICATION.



Baltimore & Ohio road among the working classes, and to some extent among people in the higher walks of life, furnished at the beginning a strong fund of sympathy to sustain the strike. It was currently believed that the policy of the company has been to starve its men in order to keep up its ten per cent. dividends. There is no doubt that this prejudice was the real basis of the outbreak. Desperate men took advantage of it to defy the law, relying upon popular support."

A number of the soldiers were severely wounded by the mob. Among the rioters nine were killed, two mortally wounded, and a number wounded by the fire of the troops. Two more rioters were shot by the police in the fight at the lower end of the depot. When the soldiers did fire directly on the mob, they did so in deadly earnest, as the vast preponderance of the dead over the wounded testifies. Almost every man shot was hit in either the chest or head, and nearly all the wounds were fatal.

The night wore painfully away. It was evident that the riot had assumed a character which required the promptest and firmest treatment. At midnight Governor Carroll, who had been in constant communication with the city authorities and the railroad officials, and who had become convinced that the State forces were unequal to the task of dealing with the mob, made a requisition by telegraph upon the President of the United States for assistance in the effort to quell the insurrection. The demand was instantly complied with. General Barry, commanding at Fort McHenry, was ordered to hold all his available force in readiness to assist the authorities of Maryland and Baltimore, and was reinforced by detachments of troops

and marines from Washington. General Hancock, commanding the Military Department of the Atlantic, was ordered to repair to Baltimore and assume the command, and troops were hurried from Fortress Monroe and the Atlantic posts to Baltimore and Washington. On the morning of the 21st, the President issued the following proclamation :

By the President of the United States of America:

A Proclamation.

Whereas, It is provided in the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect every State in this Union on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence ; and,

Whereas, The Governor of the State of Maryland has represented that domestic violence exists in said State, at Cumberland and along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in said State, which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress ; and,

Whereas, The laws of the United States require that in all cases of insurrection in any State, or of obstruction to the laws thereof, whenever in the judgment of the President it becomes necessary to use the military forces to suppress such insurrection or obstruction to the laws, he shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time :

Now, therefore, I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States against aiding, countenancing, abetting, or taking part in such unlawful proceedings, and I do hereby warn all persons engaged in or connected with said domestic violence and obstruction of the laws to disperse and retire peaceably to their re-

spective abodes on or before twelve o'clock noon of the 22d day of July inst.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and second.

By the President:

R. B. HAYES.

WILLIAM M. EVARTS, *Secretary of State.*

Matters continued threatening in Baltimore during the 21st, but the mob had been taught a lesson. The crowds were kept back from the streets bounding the depot and its yards by strong guards of police and military, and under the protection of the troops the work of repairing the tracks was begun. All the bar-rooms in the city were closed by order of the mayor, and citizens were not allowed to congregate on the street corners. Towards nightfall a battery of Federal artillery was stationed at the Camden street depot, and every precaution was taken to defeat any attack that might be made by the mob during the night.

Soon after dark a mob of from 2,500 to 3,000 men assembled in the vicinity of the depot and commenced to hoot at the soldiers and police who had been thrown out as guards. Between nine and ten o'clock a magnificent stroke of strategy against the mob was enacted. The police had been quietly ordered that each one of them should arrest a man. At a given signal each officer picked out his victim and started into Camden station with him. The rioters followed with the intention of rescuing their friends, but they had not



FIGHT BETWEEN THE RIOTERS AND POLICE IN BALTIMORE.

advanced twenty paces before they were met with the bayonets of the 5th Regiment pickets, before which they beat a hasty retreat. The police took their prisoners into Camden station, and as soon as they entered the doors a cordon of soldiery closed around them and protected the police while the prisoners were being searched and deprived of their arms. This occurred on the platform, and the prisoners seemed to take heart from the comparatively small number of the troops and police, and to be preparing for a break. In a moment the soldiers swept around on each side of them with fixed bayonets, and drove them into the main passenger room of the depot, where fifty of them were confined, the number constantly receiving aecessions from fresh arrests. It was a brilliant strategic stroke, and served its purpose so well that by eleven o'clock the vicinity of Camden station was clear and the rioters discomfited for the time being. It was noticeable that the railroad strikers really had little to do with the trouble inside the city. The vicious element was mostly composed of russians out of employment, and ready for any sort of bloody work. In arresting the rioters there were about fifty pistol shots fired, but nobody was hurt. A few of the mob were wounded by blows from officers' clubs, but none of them seriously.

The comparative quiet that reigned throughout the city about midnight of the 21st was broken towards three o'clock on the morning of the 22d by the frequent ringing of fire signals. The alarm extended to all sections of the city, and few persons slept through the night. Before daylight the city was swarming with people. All the daily papers printed Sunday morning editions, an unusual occurrence, which served to

heighten the excitement that everywhere prevailed: The first serious conflagration was an attempt on the part of the mob to destroy the Mount Clare shops of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, which cover an area of several acres in West Baltimore. A train of coal oil numbering thirty-seven cars was fired by means of cotton waste saturated with coal oil and matches, which were placed in each car and then lighted. The first intimation of the incendiary act was the bright sheets of flame which illuminated the west end for miles, and drew to the scene a strong police force and thousands of citizens, including many strikers. The police did splendid service, and after repulsing the rioters aided the Fire Department in smothering the flames. Only seven cars, with 300 barrels of oil, were burned. It was evidently the intention of the rioters to run the train into Mount Clare, in which event millions of dollars worth of property would have been destroyed.

Before the alarm caused by this fire had subsided, the bells again, at ten minutes after four A. M., pealed forth another signal, indicating a conflagration in the neighborhood of the President street depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad. Closely following the second call a general alarm was rung, and all the available engines in the department hastened to the spot. By this time the City Hall shone out in bright relief from the vividness of the vast volume of flame which shot straight upward from the burning premises, which proved to be the extensive steam planing mills and lumber yard of J. Turner & Cate, at East Falls avenue and Stiles street. The proximity of the place to the Philadelphia depot led many to believe that the strikers had transferred their operations

to the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, and crowds of persons who had hastily quitted their beds ran excitedly in the direction of the depot. The fire originated in the northeast end of the lumber shed on the corner of President and Stiles street, and travelling westward, in a few minutes the flames worked their way through the doors and windows into the large three-story brick planing mill, corner of Stiles street and East Falls avenue. In an instant the entire building, owing to the combustible material stored within, was in a blaze, sheets of flame shooting out from all the windows. The property extended over an entire block bounded by East Falls avenue, Stiles, President and Fawn streets, the greater portion being occupied as a lumber yard. The entire premises were destroyed, and the Fire Department, recognizing that this would be the result, tried to save the surrounding property. The exact loss has not been ascertained, but it will amount to some \$50,000. The building was saturated with oil and fired at several places. Nothing but the well-directed efforts prevented the spread of the flames and a terrible conflagration that would have swept southeast Baltimore. When a man attempted to sound an alarm he was assaulted by a mob and roughly handled. The workmen had been notified on Saturday night that their wages would be reduced, and it is supposed they at once joined the strikers and fired the place.

During the day a large number of special policemen were sworn in by the city authorities and armed, and measures were set on foot for organizing and equipping two new regiments of militia. The better class of citizens, now seriously alarmed, gave a firm support to the

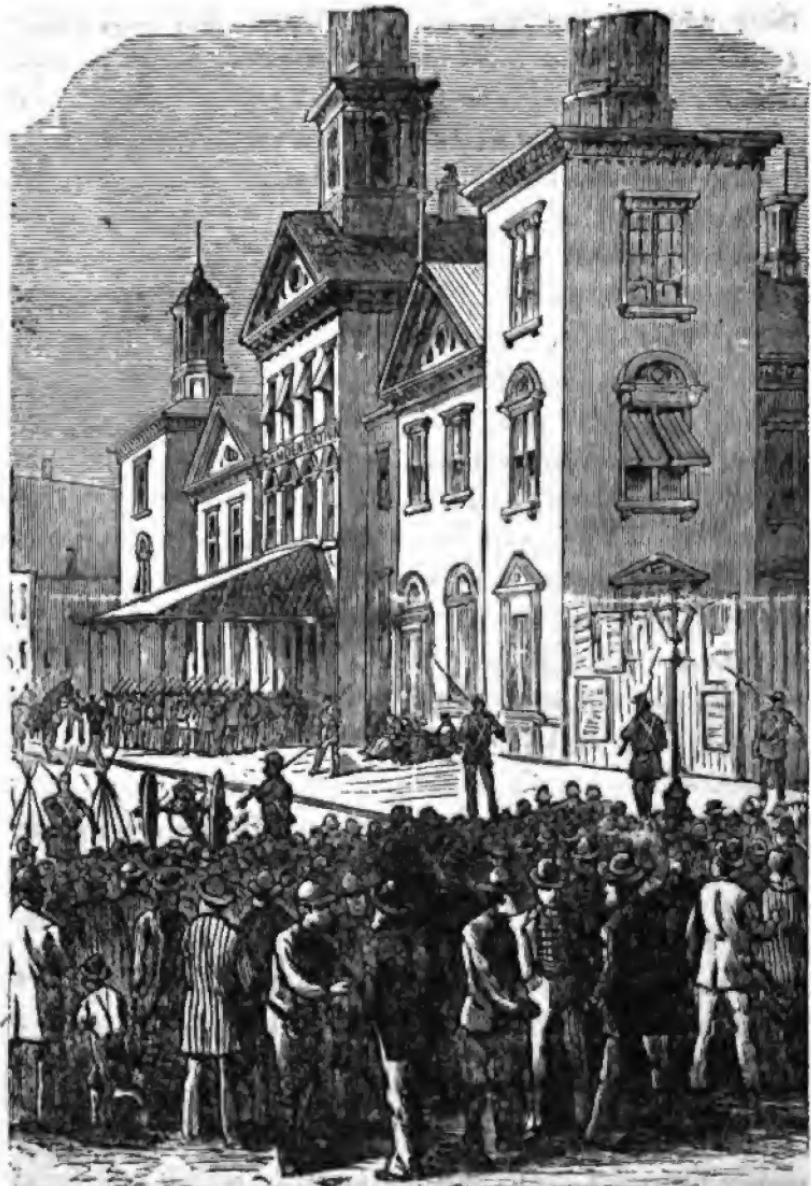
authorities, and held themselves in readiness to respond to any call that might be made upon them. The mob had shown its true character so plainly that none could doubt it now. It was composed of the lowest and most disreputable element of the city; it was desperate and infuriated, and nothing but the sternest and most resolute treatment could overcome it.

During the morning General Hancock arrived in Baltimore. He was followed by 400 regular troops from New York and Fortress Monroe. As the troops from New York left the cars at the President street depot, they were met by a mob of about five hundred men and youths, who showed their disapproval of their presence by making a perfect bedlam of hisses, hoots and groans. These demonstrations soon assumed a more violent shape, and when marching up President street the men were assaulted with showers of missiles. A heavy piece of rock thrown from a second story window struck private Corcoran, of Company A, on the back of the head and inflicted a very painful, though not very dangerous wound. During the whole attack the regulars had not deviated from the calm deliberation of their march, and paid little heed to the mob. But at this juncture the command to halt was given. Perceiving this movement the rioters took fright, and most of them fled precipitately in all directions. The soldiers then pursued their march with only a few slight interruptions to the armory of the 6th Regiment, corner of Front and Fayette streets, where they were quartered as a reserve force, subject to the orders of Governor Carroll. Each man was armed with a Springfield breech-loading rifle, of the most improved patent, and carried sixty rounds of ammunition. The

rifles were all equipped with the trowel bayonet, a terrible-looking weapon, which may be used, either to stab as a regular bayonet or to cut as a sabre, with deadly effect. Besides the rounds of ammunition which each soldier carried, nearly 40,000 rounds were brought in boxes on the train with them. These were conveyed in wagons to the armory, and placed in the arsenal under guard. The sudden appearance of the regulars was a surprise in the city, and their presence at the armory produced a deep impression among the groups of spectators who soon congregated in its vicinity. The arrival of these troops increased the force of regulars in Baltimore to between 700 and 800 men. These, with the State militia, the police, the armed citizens, and the revenue cutter in the harbor, made a force sufficiently strong to meet any attempt the mob might make. The rioters appreciated this, and at midnight on Sunday, July 22d, the city was quieter than it had been since the beginning of the strike.

From this time the city grew quieter gradually, and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, being reopened for traffic toward the last of July, matters settled down to their normal condition.

The strike on the railroad having stopped the running of the trains for so long a period, caused a suspension of operations at the coal mines near Cumberland. The miners, although sufferers in this respect, were warm sympathizers with the strikers. They formed a large part of the mobs which interfered with the trains, and constituted a fair proportion of the arrests made by the authorities. In several places they declared their intention not to resume work unless



UNITED STATES ARTILLERY GUARDING CAMDEN STREET DETOT
IN BALTIMORE.

their wages were increased by their employers; but as a general rule were guilty of no violence at the mines.

Early in June the boatmen on the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, which extends along the Potomac river from Georgetown, D. C., to Cumberland, Maryland, refused to transport coal for less than \$1 per ton. They collected in the vicinity of Hancock and Sir John's Run, tied up their boats, refused to allow the passage of boats engaged in transporting coal at a lower rate, and completely blockaded the canal. The canal company made several efforts to clear their route, but without success, and finally appealed to the State authorities for assistance. During the strike on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, a number of freight trains were stopped at Sir John's Run, and in these outrages many of the boatmen from the canal on the Maryland side of the river took part. Governor Carroll, therefore, resolved to break up the blockade before it should become a source of greater danger. A posse under Sheriff Mayberry, of Washington county, Maryland, which was sent to Hancock to break the blockade, was laughed at, and proved ineffectual. Mr. A. P. Gorman, President of the canal, had a long interview with Governor Carroll in Baltimore, on the 8th of August, on the situation. Governor Carroll communicated with General Barry, commanding at Fort McHenry, and asked for the co-operation of Federal troops with the State forces in clearing the obstruction. General Barry promptly responded to the call. The Governor then instructed Adjutant-General Bond to issue orders to the 7th Regiment, Maryland N. G., Colonel James Howard, to put his command under marching orders and report at

Hancock, Maryland, to Colonel H. Kyd Douglas, aide-de-camp and acting for the Governor in western Maryland. General Barry at the same time sent orders to General Getty at Cumberland to coöperate with his force from that point.

On the morning of the 9th of August, the 7th Regiment left Baltimore, and at the same time a force of regulars moved down from Cumberland, both in the direction of Sir John's Run and Hancock. The movements of the troops were conducted so quietly that the strikers knew nothing of them. It was generally believed by the authorities that it would require only a show of force to put an end to the lawlessness on the canal, and this proved to be the case.

By half-past five o'clock, on the morning of August 9th, 125 United States troops from General Getty's command at Cumberland, Maryland, came down to Sir John's Run, which is in West Virginia, opposite Hancock, Maryland. The troops were under Captain Rogers. One company was sent across the river, and in their presence Sheriff Mayberry, of Washington county, Maryland, made seven arrests. These men are charged with the specific crime of burning a canal steamer, and they were all conveyed safely to Hagerstown jail, and an official despatch was forwarded to Governor Carroll, in Baltimore, before eleven o'clock that morning, announcing that the canal was open. It was 12.30 o'clock before the 7th Maryland Regiment, which left Baltimore at six o'clock in the morning, reached Sir John's Run and were marched to Hancock, which stronghold of the canal boatmen they occupied. The object in sending State troops to this point was to guard the canal and keep it open for the passage of all

boats which may desire to pass from Cumberland to tidewater at Georgetown, D. C. It was the intention of the State authorities to break up the boatman's head-quarters at post No. 3, and to station detachments at other posts which the strikers had established along the line. At the time the 7th Regiment was leaving Baltimore, the 5th Maryland and a strong battery of artillery were under arms, in light marching order, ready at a moment to crush down any hostile demonstration, but none was made. The secrecy of the movement and the early hour for the embarkation at Camden station averted the collection of crowds, and the people generally of Baltimore were in ignorance of the exploit until they read the programme of intended operations in the morning journals. The canal boatmen, too, were completely surprised by the sudden swoop of Federal soldiers on their blockade, and the ringleaders fell easy victims to the officers of the law. No blood was shed, and no opposition was met from first to last. About 400 boatmen and 200 canal boats had collected at and between Hancock and Sir John's Run. The obstruction of the canal is regarded by the authorities as a conspiracy to hinder the use of the public highway; the burning of the canal boat and defiance of the sheriff and posse as overt acts, and on these premises Governor Carroll issued his proclamation commanding the strikers to disperse, and simultaneously ordered the troops to enforce the mandate, and to protect the citizens of the State in their right to use the public highway for the purposes of travel and trade.

These vigorous measures had the desired effect; the blockade was promptly broken up, and the canal was open to all who wished to use it.

CHAPTER III.

THE PITTSBURGH RIOTS.

Cause of the Outbreak—The Strike Begun on the Pennsylvania Railroad—The Civil Authorities Defied—The Sheriff calls on the Governor for Aid—The Sixth Division Ordered under Arms—Proclamation of the Governor—Spread of the Strike—Trains Stopped—The Military on the Ground—The Sheriff's Appeal—Speech of General Pearson to the Rioters—Strike on the Fort Wayne Road—Colonel Scott in Philadelphia—Return of the Mayor—Precautions of the City Authorities—The Philadelphia Troops Called out—Departure of the First Division for Pittsburgh—Arrival of the Troops at Pittsburgh—The First Division March to the Outer Depot—The Mob Attack the Troops—The Troops fire upon the Rioters—Disgraceful Conduct of the Pittsburgh Troops—Retreat of the First Division to the Round House—Fury of the Mob—Gun Stores Sacked—Attack of the Rioters on the Round House—The Fatal Cannon—Thrilling Adventures of Sergeant Wilson—The Mob fire the Trains—Terrible Conflagrations—A Night of Horror—Burning of the Round House—Retreat of the First Division from Pittsburgh—The City in the Hands of the Mob—Burning of the Railroad Shops and Offices—The Rioters Plunder the Trains—Alarm of the Citizens—Public Meeting held—Burning of the Union Depot—Vigilance Committees Organized—Tardy Action of the Citizens—Bishop Tuigg and the Mob—Order Restored—Monday in Pittsburgh—Affairs in Allegheny City—General Brinton's Views—Strike on the Fort Wayne Road—Robert Ammond.

THE troubles were not to be confined to the States of Maryland and West Virginia.

On the 18th of July, the following order was issued by the Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Pittsburgh :

Notice to Despatchers.

On and after Thursday, July 19th, 1877, two trains are to be run on Union and two trains on National Line through between Pittsburgh and Altoona, thirty-six cars to a train, a pusher from Pittsburgh to Derry, and a pusher from Conemaugh to Altoona. No pas-



senger engines to be run on freight. Balance of trains to divide at Derry, first in and first out. Derry to be the head-quarters eastward, where engines will be turned. Between Derry and Pittsburgh all double-headers, thirty-six cars to a train, or as many as they can haul, to be increased or decreased in the judgment of despatcher—according to lading in cars.

ROBERT PITCAIRN, *Superintendent.*

On the morning of the 19th of July, a number of the freight men of this road, at Pittsburgh, struck in consequence of the above order. "The strikers," said a despatch from Pittsburgh, "claim that by this order two ordinary trains are taken out to Altoona, a distance of one hundred and sixteen miles, instead of to Derry, which is forty-eight miles. Formerly a trip to Derry was considered a day's work, while now the trip to Altoona is considered a day's work. This, they say, would require one crew to do the work of two, and would enable the company to discharge one-half their number."

It is said the strike was not pre-arranged, but was begun by Conductor Ryan's crew, who sent word to the despatcher that they would not take out their train. The despatcher then asked two yard crews to take it out, and they, it is said, refused, and were discharged. Subsequently Conductor Gordon ordered two men to take out an engine, but the strikers cut it loose from the train. Gordon then made another attempt, but the men on the train were stoned away and compelled to desert the engine. A man while attempting to couple cars was attacked and severely beaten. The ringleaders in this attack were arrested. A party of the strikers then moved out on the line of the road towards East Liberty.

At East Liberty the strikers had a conference with the train and yard men in the stock-yards there, which resulted in the latter joining the strike. Trains were run upon side tracks and left there. The strikers then took possession of the main track and stopped all freight trains east or west. Those coming in from the east were allowed to proceed after the situation had been explained. In order not to blockade the main track, it was necessary that some of the stock-trains should be pulled up to the sidings to be unloaded, and this work was done by Pan-Handle engines. None of those belonging to the Pennsylvania Railroad were allowed to be used. The main track at this point was wholly in the hands of the strikers.

A west-bound freight train was stopped at Brinton's in the afternoon by a party of strikers, who had gone there for that purpose. The train was allowed to proceed, the men intimating that they would join the strikers as soon as they reached the city.

By midnight, on the 19th, about 1400 men had gathered in the two yards of the Pennsylvania Company, and 1500 cars were standing on the sidings, 200 of which contained perishable goods.

Finding themselves powerless to deal with the outbreak, the authorities of the Pennsylvania Railroad called upon the city and county authorities for protection. At midnight, on the 19th, Sheriff Fife, of Allegheny county, in compliance with a request from the railroad officials, visited the strikers at Twenty-eighth street, and ordered them to disperse. This they refused to do. The sheriff remained upon the spot until after three o'clock in the morning, but his authority was defied. He was informed that trains should not go if

they could prevent it, and that they did not care for any posse he could muster, nor for any troops that could be brought out. Finding that the strikers were not disposed to yield obedience to the civil authority, the sheriff decided to call upon the military. The following despatches were at once forwarded to Lieutenant-Governor Latta and Secretary Quay:

I.

PITTSBURGH, PA., July 19th.

To HON. JOHN LATTA, Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania:

I have forwarded the following despatch to his Excellency Governor Hartranft, at Harrisburg. Hearing that he is absent from the State, I forward it also to you for such action as you may deem your duty and powers render proper.

R. C. FIFE, *Sheriff of Allegheny County.*

II.

PITTSBURGH, PA., July 19th.

To HON. JOHN F. HARTRANFT, Governor of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pa.:

SIR:—A tumult, riot, and mob exist on the Pennsylvania Railroad at East Liberty and in the Twelfth Ward of Pittsburgh. Large assemblages of people are upon the railroad, and the movement of freight trains either east or west is prevented by intimidation and violence, molesting and obstructing the engineers and other employés of the railroad company in the discharge of their duties. As the sheriff of the county, I have endeavored to suppress the riot, but have not the adequate means at my command to do so, and I therefore request you to exercise your authority in calling out the military to suppress the same.

R. C. FIFE, *Sheriff of Allegheny.*

Unhappily, the Governor of Pennsylvania was absent from the State at this time, and the commonwealth was deprived of his energetic and able leadership in this unforeseen emergency. The State government was represented by the Lieutenant-Governor and Adjutant-General James W. Latta, who promptly directed General Pearson, commanding the Sixth Division of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, to place a regiment on duty to support the sheriff. Early on the morning of the 20th, General Pearson issued the following order:

HEAD-QUARTERS SIXTH DIVISION N. G. OF PA., }
PITTSBURGH, July 20th, 3 A. M. }

Special Order No. 5.

In compliance with instructions from Head-quarters National Guard of Pennsylvania, the 18th Regiment is hereby ordered and directed to assemble at the Central Armory, fully uniformed, armed and equipped for duty at 6.30 A. M. Colonel P. N. Guthrie will report for duty with his command at the Union depot at 7 o'clock sharp. By order,

MAJOR-GENERAL PEARSON.

J. B. MOORE, *Lieutenant-Colonel and A. A. G.*

At the same time the following proclamation was issued by the State authorities :

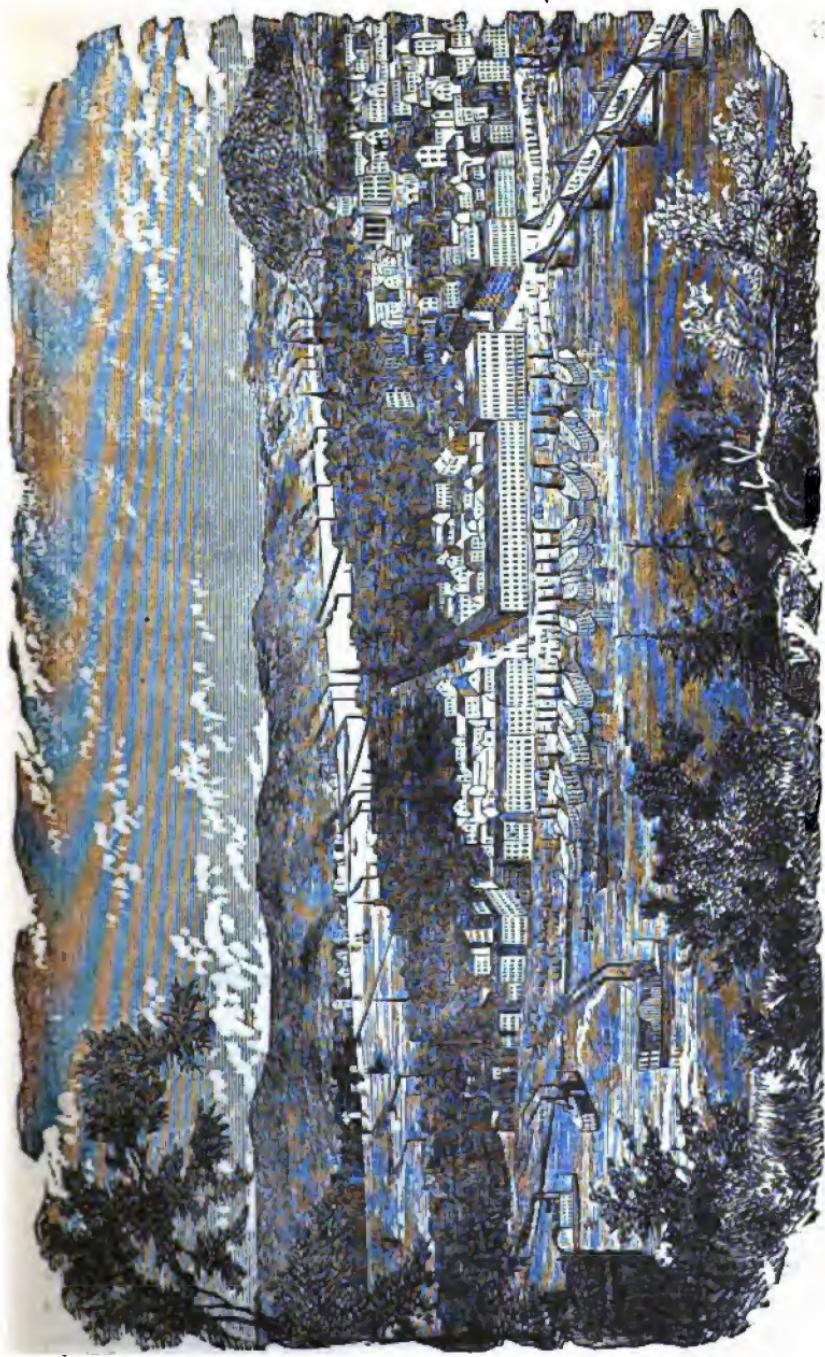
HARRISBURG, PA., July 20th.

In the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania :

A Proclamation.

Whereas, It has been represented to me by the proper authorities of Allegheny county that riotous demonstrations exist in the city of Pittsburgh and various points along the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, whereby the property of said company and the lives of

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF PITTSBURGH.



its employés are put in jeopardy, and the peace and good order of the community broken, which the said civil authorities are wholly unable to suppress; and, whereas, the Constitution and laws of this Commonwealth authorize the Governor, whenever, in his judgment, the same may be necessary, to employ the militia to suppress domestic violence and preserve the peace:

Now, therefore, I, John F. Hartranft, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, do hereby admonish all good citizens and all persons within the territory and under the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth against aiding or abetting such unlawful proceedings; and I do hereby command all persons engaged in said riotous demonstrations to forthwith disperse and retire peaceably to their respective places of abode, warning them that a persistence in violence will compel resort to such military force as may be necessary to enforce obedience to the laws.

Given under my hand, and the great seal of the State, at Harrisburg, the 20th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, and of the Commonwealth the one hundred and second.

(Signed) JOHN F. HARTRANFT, *Governor.*

By the Governor:

M. S. QUAY, *Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

This proclamation was printed in handbill form and distributed along the road. It had no effect upon the strikers in this city, however, at least during the morning. An immense crowd gathered at the outer station at Twenty-eighth street, and hourly increased in numbers. As the trains came in they were all met, and the crews, after taking the trains to the yard, joined the strikers.

Early on the morning of the 20th, Sheriff Fife visited

the yards where the strikers were assembled, and commanded the rioters to disperse, but they only jeered at him. He then read the Governor's proclamation, calling on the disturbers of the peace to return to their homes; but this, too, they disregarded. The sheriff, finding himself powerless, asked the State authorities for aid, and two regiments—the 18th, the Duquesne Grays,



SHERIFF FIFE CALLING ON THE PITTSBURGH RIOTERS TO
DISPERSE.

and the 14th—were ordered out. After a consultation with Vice-President Cassatt, who had just arrived from Philadelphia, Major-General Pearson, commanding the military division, accompanied by Superintendent Pitcairn, Sheriff Fife, and Deputy Sheriff Boyce, took a locomotive at the Union depot for East Liberty. On arriving there Captain Aull, with twenty-five men of Company F, 18th Regiment, was found at the point

where the crowd was assembled, a short distance on the other side of East Liberty station. Everything seemed quiet, though there was evidently a good deal of suppressed excitement and determination on the part of the strikers to make every resistance to freight trains which might attempt to get out. There were about three hundred men assembled at this point, though it is said there were fully as many more hiding behind the cars and ready for any emergency which might require reinforcements.

Sheriff Fife mounted a locomotive and made a brief address to the men. He said it had been represented to him that certain riotous persons had interfered with the running of trains. He wished to say that such interference must be discontinued. He then read the proclamation of the Governor, and when he had concluded again commanded the crowd to disperse. As he was about to get down from the locomotive a voice shouted, "Give us a loaf of bread;" another voice said, "You're creating a riot yourself;" "We have not stopped any passenger trains." Still another man in the crowd requested the sheriff to bring out a car of bread, and this created loud laughter and cheers. General Pearson then said that he had been ordered by the Governor to protect these trains so that they might continue to run as usual, and he added, "You that know me know that I will obey orders." A voice, "You're but one man." "Yes, I am but one man, but I have troops who will obey my orders, and I tell you, gentlemen, *these trains must go through*. My troops will have no blank ammunition, and I give you warning of this in time. [A voice, "Neither will we."] I call upon these people here who are not directly inter-

STRIKERS IN THE MOUNTAINS WAITING TO WRECK A TRAIN.



ested in this matter to go away, as it is almost always the case in affairs of this kind that the innocent persons are the ones who are hurt. As for myself, I'm going on the first train, and I assure you I'm going through by daylight."

His speech was followed by cries of bread, and the General remarked that if it was true that they were suffering for something to eat, there were no persons in the world who would more quickly put their hands in their pockets to render them assistance than these troops. The duty which devolved upon him was a very unpleasant one, but he felt that he must and would obey orders. By three o'clock about 180 men of the Duquesne Grays were at East Liberty, armed and equipped with ball ammunition. Soon after a freight train containing a crowd of nearly one thousand roughs from the city to join the strikers arrived. Amid the greatest excitement the troops immediately fell into line, being hooted and hissed by the mob.

General Pearson then stationed his troops at the outer depot and at points along the road. It soon became evident to him that the force under his command was inadequate to the task of suppressing a riot, should one occur, and he reported the fact to the State authorities.

On the 20th the train men of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago, and the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroads joined the strikers, and prevented the running of the freight trains on their road. Passenger trains were unmolested, but no freight was allowed to pass over either of these roads.

The situation was now very grave. The strike threatened to become general all along the line of the

Pennsylvania road and its leased lines. Governor Hartranft, who had gotten as far as the Plains on his way to California, was telegraphed for, and at once turned back, and hastened towards Pennsylvania by a special train. The State authorities ordered the entire militia force of the Commonwealth to be held in readiness for service.

The main offices and some of the most valuable property of the Pennsylvania Railroad are located at Philadelphia. Colonel Thomas A. Scott, the President of the Pennsylvania Company, promptly took measures to ensure the safety of the company's property. Mayor Stokley, of Philadelphia, who was at Long Branch, was summoned by telegraph, and reached the city on a special train about noon on the 20th. Colonel Scott met him upon his return, and their interview resulted in an understanding that the municipal authorities would help the company to preserve order. Extra police were placed on duty at the depots of the company, and the whole force was held in reserve. There were, however, no indications of trouble in the city, the trains arriving and departing as usual, and officials of the company expected that the difficulty would not extend to the eastern division of the road.

Colonel Scott was closeted during a greater part of the evening with Mayor Stokley and Chief of Police Jones. Although no trouble was apprehended at this end of the line, yet to provide against a possible emergency one hundred and fifty policemen were gathered at the sixteenth district station house, and in the vicinity of the depot.

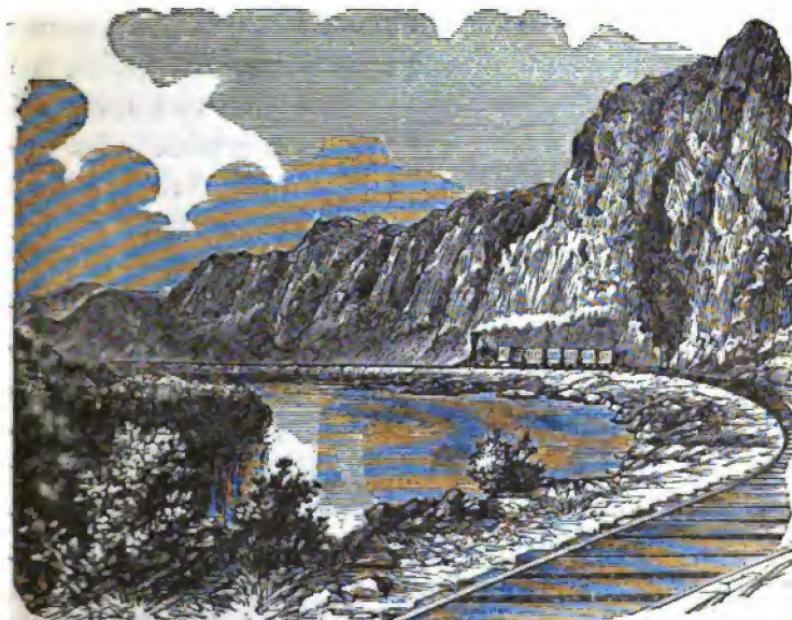
The critical character of the situation at Pittsburgh having been reported to the State government, General

Latta, the acting governor, ordered General Brinton, commanding the First Division of the National Guard, all Philadelphia troops, to proceed with his command to Pittsburgh, and assist the civil authorities in maintaining order. General Brinton at once issued the necessary orders, but in consequence of the short interval of time between the call for the troops and the hour fixed for their departure, but 600 men were present at the West Philadelphia depot. These were embarked on board a special train, and at three o'clock on the morning of the 21st of July started for Pittsburgh. The remainder of the division reported during the next day or two, and were sent forward to join their regiments.

The first detachment of the First Division, under General Brinton, reached Pittsburgh at 1.45 on Saturday afternoon, July 21st, six hundred strong, the men each furnished with thirty rounds of ammunition and accompanied by two Gatling guns, obtained in Harrisburg, in charge of the Keystone Battery. When the troops issued from the cars in the Union depot they were met by a large number of people, who appeared to be in perfect good-humor and even greeted them with cheers. That the bloodshed that afterwards followed would take place was, therefore, the last thing that entered the minds of the soldiers.

At half-past three o'clock word was received by the officials at the Union depot that the crossing at the outer depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad was crowded with an immense mob, which obstructed the road and all proceedings. A plan of action was at once resolved upon. The sheriff was to proceed to the point of danger, and, aided by the troops, was to arrest the

leading strikers. The order was given, and the First Brigade, composed of the First Regiment, Companies B and C of the Third, the Washington Grays and Weccacoe Legion, marched down the track as far as Twenty-eighth street, accompanied by Vice-President Cassatt, Mr. Pitcairn, Superintendent of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Sheriff Fife and forty-



SCENE ON THE JUNIATA RIVER, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

five deputies, armed with writs for the arrest of prominent strikers.

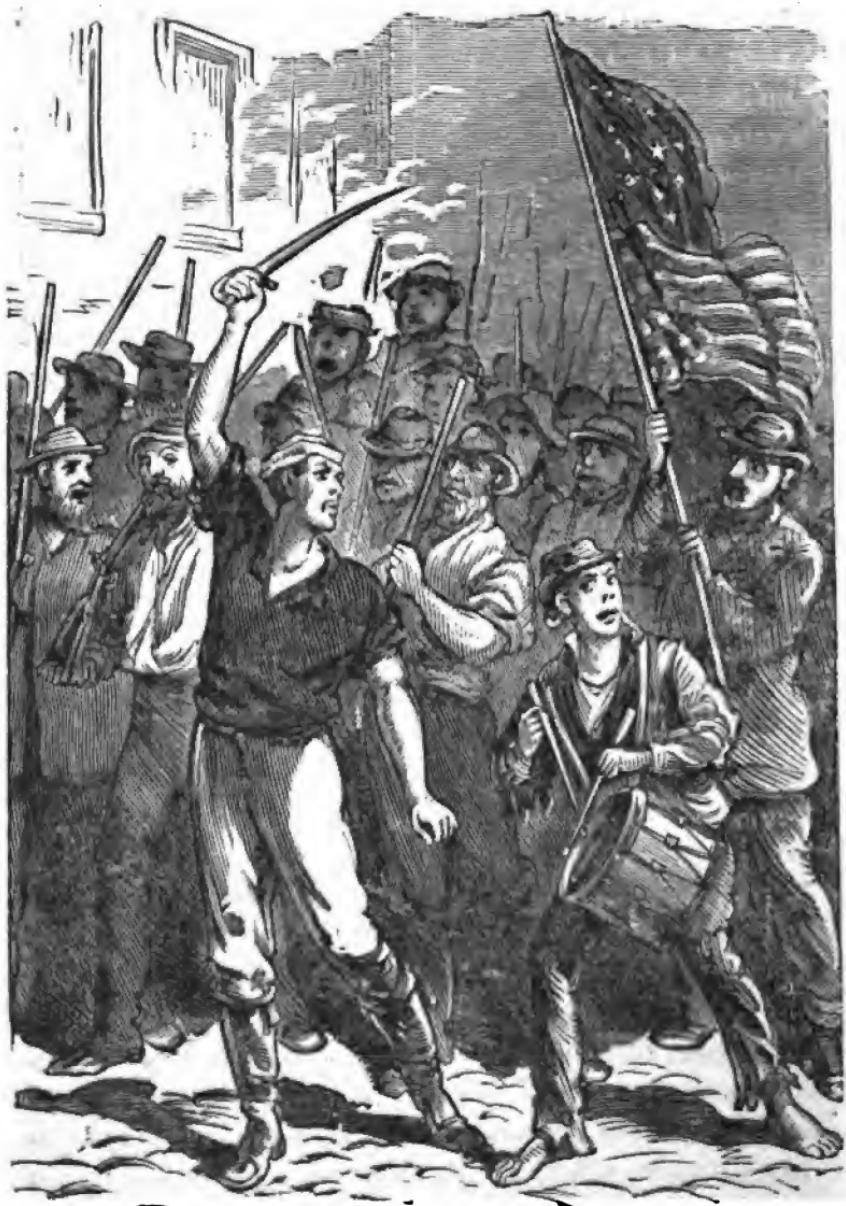
At Twenty-eighth street the head of the column, composed of the Weccacoe Legion and the Washington Grays, found themselves confronted by a mob about two thousand strong, while on the hill, some four hundred feet high, that faced the right of the column, there were ranged an immense multitude, at least ten

thousand strong. On the brow of the hill were stationed detachments of the 14th and 18th Pennsylvania Regiments (Pittsburgh troops), and immediately above the railroad two pieces of Hutchison's Pittsburg Battery. Sheriff Fife, after in vain endeavoring to serve his writs, read the riot act, at which the mob jeered and laughed, whereupon the sheriff and his deputies and Mr. Cassatt and Mr. Pitcairn retired in profound disgust. The troops were then deployed for the purpose of sweeping the mob from the tracks, the Grays and Weccacoe Legion facing the two thousand or more strikers that occupied the tracks. At the back of the command was a train of coal cars, behind which there were about two hundred of the strikers. In order to force the principal mob back the soldiers of the Grays and the Legion crossed their muskets, their intention being to avoid doing the strikers injury. The crowd laughed and jeered and finally attempted to wrest the muskets from the soldiers, who then came to a charge bayonet, and in the melee that necessarily followed one of the strikers was wounded by a bayonet thrust. The cry arose from the mob: "Stick to it; give it to them; don't fall back!" and the men behind the coal cars began discharging pistols at the soldiers from under and between the cars, while the crowd in front began heaving rocks, with which a number of the soldiers were hit, and Sergeant Bernard, of the Weccacoe Legion, seriously wounded. The firing by the troops then began. There was no order given for it. It began with the discharge of a single musket and was immediately followed by an almost simultaneous discharge from front and rear, right and left of the brigade. The firing lasted about ten minutes, men

continually dropping in the fast retreating mob. It was at this time that the Pittsburgh troops threw down their arms and fraternized with the strikers, Hutchinson's Battery and a cavalry company alone excepted. Within five minutes after the firing ceased the mob was back again, but restrained for a while from further assaults upon the Philadelphians, and therefore there was no firing upon them. The brigade remained on the field of battle until six o'clock, when they were ordered by General Pearson back to the round house, adjoining which is a building in which was stationed the Second Brigade.

It was this retreat that was the great mistake of the occasion. If the mob had been pushed immediately after they had been fired into, the riot would probably have been ended at once and the immense destruction of property that afterwards happened been prevented.

The mob had now swollen to an enormous size, and was rendered furious by the firing of the Philadelphia troops. By eight o'clock in the evening mobs were moving about the city in various directions, sacking stores to secure arms, breaking into the armories of the military companies, and preparing themselves to execute threats freely expressed of massacring the entire Philadelphia command. The city was at this time virtually in the hands of an utterly irresponsible mob, composed only in small part, however, of railroad hands, but more of laborers and iron workers, coal miners, stevedores, and others who were in full sympathy with the strikers. A large mob visited Johnson's gun factory on Smithfield street, about seven o'clock in the evening, and armed themselves. Another still larger crowd demolished Brown's establishment on



AN ARMED MOB MARCHING TO THE SCENE OF ACTION IN PITTSBURGH.

Wood street, which they completely gutted, and then marched down Fifth avenue, with drums beating and flags flying; about three thousand in number.

The round house and its gallant defenders were now the objects of the fury of the rioters. The soldiers were shut up in this building without food of any kind. By ten o'clock a mob of several thousand people had congregated about the round house, but remained at a respectful distance from it, as it was generally believed that its defenders were prepared to open on the crowd with artillery and Gatling guns in case of an attack. During the night a gun belonging to the Hutchison Battery, that had been left on the hill, was planted by the rioters within one hundred yards of the round house and loaded to the muzzle with couplings and broken rails. A sharp and effective fire was opened by the troops upon the men in charge of this gun, and they were driven off. Repeated efforts were made to discharge the piece, but each man who ventured near it was picked off by the Philadelphians. The next morning thirteen dead bodies, lying near the gun, bore witness to the accuracy of the Philadelphia marksmen.

While the troops were holding the round house it became necessary for General Brinton to open communication with the head-quarters of the State forces at the Union depot. He was recommended to send on this dangerous mission Sergeant Joseph G. Wilson, of the Jefferson Cavalry, one of the five men of that command who stood by his colors with his captain. Sergeant Wilson had already passed through an exciting adventure that night. When it was found early in the evening that there would be trouble in getting provisions to the round house he was dressed up by Captain

Murphy in a suit of clothes—a blouse and a pair of overalls—found on one of the locomotives, and sent out to forage—he, of course, first agreeing to undertake the task. At this time there were but few people around the round house, as the mob had not yet gathered in that vicinity. They were patrolling the streets hunting for guns. He got out of the round house on the side towards the hill, and making a detour finally came out on Penn avenue, where he purchased all the supplies he could carry, and returned. This was about twelve o'clock. About midnight, when General Brinton found the mob at the height of its fury, he determined in some way to open communication with head-quarters at the Union depot. The telegraph line was cut, and so he had only recourse to the men, and only a Pittsburgher who knew the ground could be chosen. In this dilemma he consulted with Captain Murphy, of the Jefferson Cavalry, who recommended Mr. Wilson as a man who answered to the description of the scout needed by General Brinton—"a man who would come back at all hazards." Mr. Wilson was consulted and expressed a willingness to do a soldier's duty. He was accordingly again arrayed in the blouse and overalls and was taken from the round house through the carpenter shop and into the lumber yard. Nobody but the staff officers knew him or his mission, and hence when he attempted to pass through the lumber yard he was intercepted by the outside sentry. Captain Murphy, who was with him to show him the way out, tried to get the soldier to pass him, and the result was that both were arrested and taken before General Brinton, who quietly released them, but made no explanation. The scout then started out again. His aim

was to pass through the lumber yard, which was east of the carpenter shop, and ran just along Liberty street. There was a fence on the Liberty street side of this yard, and the fence also partially closed up the yard on the east side. The fence on the east side stopped just where the car tracks ran. On the inner track, next to the lumber, was a train of freight cars, and between the end of the fence and this train there was a small space, through which a man, by passing sideways, could edge his way out. A man passing through the carpenter shop, and into the lumber yard, was protected on one side by the cars and on the other by the lumber from the observation of the mob, and in this way Sergeant Wilson passed out. Once outside the fence he crawled under the cars for some distance, and finally came out from underneath the cars, and joined a small group of the rioters, who were talking about "roastin' them Philadelphia fellers." By a little loud talk he won their confidence and escaped suspicion, and in a short time got away. He had no trouble then in reaching the Union depot, where he found General Latta, Secretary Quay, and a number of others, none of whom he knew. He secured admission to them by telling the guard, and showing his uniform underneath his blouse. His story was verified when he produced his despatch to General Latta. It was written on a piece of paper torn from General Brinton's memorandum book, and scribbled in lead-pencil. General Latta and his associates, after reading the note, questioned him further about the situation of affairs, and then retired to consult. In a short time he was given an answer, and made his way back. In going back he was intercepted by several bands of workmen around the cars, but as

he always pretended to be on the same errand as themselves—plunder—he easily quieted their fears. He was compelled to crawl some distance towards the end of his journey in getting back, but got through.

He made two other trips, going and returning in the same way, but on the last trip barely escaped detection several times. As he was going out on his third trip he encountered a gang engaged in firing freight cars. They stopped him and asked him, "Who the h—— are you?" Putting on a braggadocio front, he replied, "And I'd like to know who you are. I belong to the gang." They then asked him for his partner. "Oh," said he, "he's gone down Penn street to get some more oil to wet these cars." The men were engaged in wetting the cars with oil themselves, so they readily took the story in. They told him if that was the case they'd leave him to wet these few, and they'd go on down, and so he escaped. A little further on he was again halted by a murderous gang, who were shoving the cars down. They didn't believe his story at first, but proposed to search him. He had the despatch in his blouse pocket, and knew it would be death if he was discovered. But keeping cool, he said, "All right, sellers. You can search me, but before you do I'd like to have a chaw of tobacco. I'm most starved for a chaw." Several of the men felt for the nicotine, but had none. So he said, "Well, maybe I've got a few crumbs in my pocket; wait till I see," and with that he fumbled in the blouse pocket until he had rolled the despatch into a squid, when, with the remark, "By golly, that's lucky, I have just a bite," he whipped it into his mouth. He seemed to have some work to chew it, and one of the men remarked, "That must be a hard chaw," when he said,

"Well, if you'd been in that pocket as long and exposed to the heat, you'd be hard too." The roughs then commenced the search, and upon opening the blouse discovered his uniform. This aroused their suspicions very strongly. To get out of this scrape the scout threw himself upon their mercy by making a "confession." He related how that he had been one of the cavalry stationed to keep back the people at Twenty-eighth street, and how he and the fellows were in sympathy with the people, and only wanted a chance to desert; that they did desert when they heard the firing, and that he stole the clothes from a locomotive. In corroboration of his story he said: "You see I've no belt or firearms; I threw them away when I deserted."

This convinced the roughs, for as one said: "That's so; if he hadn't deserted he would have had his belt. I guess he's all right." So he was allowed to pass, and reached the Union depot without further interruption.

The firing of the troops in the round house for a moment dismayed the rioters, and they swayed backward. They soon recovered their courage, however, and as thousands were flocking to their assistance, they returned to the attack. Finding it impossible to dislodge the military from the building, they resolved to burn them out. An order to this effect was issued, and it was carried into execution with alacrity. In consequence of the blockade which had existed for two days, the sidings in the yards of the outer station as well as those extending eastward for three or four miles, were crowded with freight cars, filled with grain produce and merchandise of all kinds, besides which a number of loaded oil, coke, and coal cars were collected there *en masse*. While a portion of the mob surrounded the build-

ing in which the military had taken refuge, large bodies proceeded to set fire to the oil cars, and in a moment huge volumes of black smoke rolled upwards, followed by lurid flames reaching out in every direction, telling that the work of the destruction of property had begun.

The sight of the flames seemed to literally craze the



TROOP-TRAIN ENTERING THE GREAT TUNNEL, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

rioters, some of whom rushed wildly about with flaming torches in their hands, applying them to the cars indiscriminately. An alarm of fire was sounded and the department promptly responded, but the rioters, who had complete control of the city, refused to permit them to make any effort to extinguish the flames. They

said they were determined to destroy the railroad company's property, but would do no injury to that belonging to private citizens. They kept their word, too, and when a lumber pile belonging to a citizen took fire the rioters themselves turned in and helped to extinguish the flames and remove the lumber to a safe place. Train after train was fired by the infuriated crowd, but the cars were so far distant from the round houses that the heat did not seriously affect the military, although their position was one of peril. Finally a large party of strikers captured a car filled with coke, which they ran from the Allegheny Valley Railroad track to a siding connecting with the Pennsylvania Railroad. They then procured large quantities of petroleum oil, and, pouring it over the coke, ignited the materials in a very few moments. The car was soon a mass of fire, and it was then pushed along the tracks and forced against the round house.

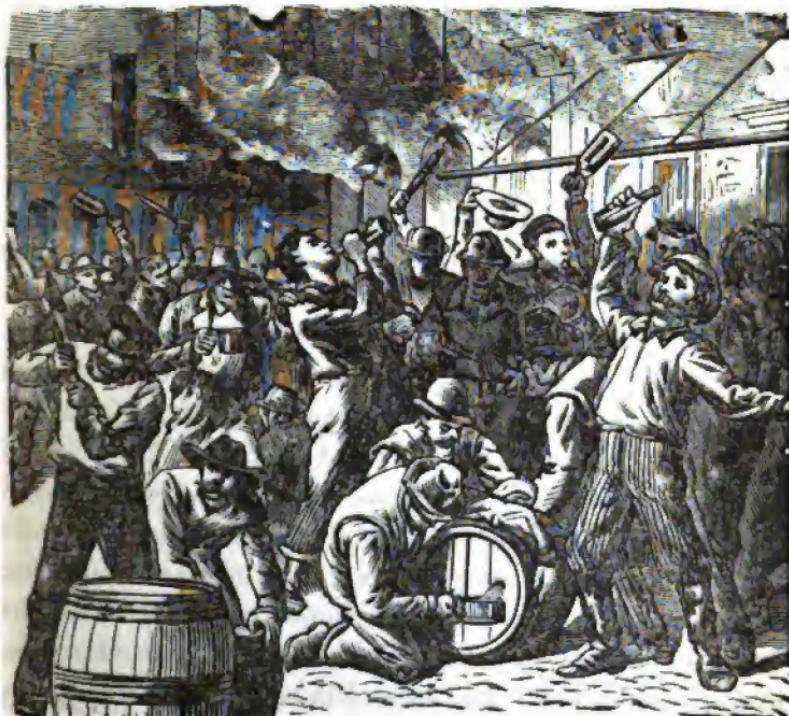
The building was soon ignited, and the soldiers were now compelled to prepare to fight their way out through the frenzied mass of humanity clamoring for their blood. The building did not burn as rapidly as was desired, and the mob, bent on revenge, rushed out the road and sent burning trains toward the doomed buildings. From midnight until five o'clock next morning the main efforts of the crowds were directed to firing the buildings and cars, but about half an hour later the mob, which had been besieging the military, left, for some unexplained reason. This afforded the troops, who were in actual danger of being roasted alive, an opportunity to emerge from the building, and they succeeded in reaching Liberty street in a very few moments. They quickly formed in line and marched up to Thirty-third street,

and from there to Penn avenue and Butler street. Their objective point was the United States Arsenal, on Butler street, where they expected to obtain shelter. While turning into Butler street, however, the leaders had discovered their retreat and fully 1,000 men, fully armed and supplied with ammunition, followed in pursuit. The troops marched at the ordinary pace, and in good order. They were fired upon from the street corners, alley-ways, windows, and housetops, and returned the fire, using once their Gatling guns, and inflicting heavy loss upon their assailants. When they reached the arsenal the commandant refused to admit them. He said he had but ten men, and would be powerless to hold the place if the mob should attack it. He consented to take care of the wounded, and they were accordingly carried into the hospital.

The main body of the troops continued their march out Butler street, a fusilade being kept up on them by the mob as they moved forward. The shots fired killed one of the soldiers. Before they reached the arsenal and nearly opposite the cemetery gate, fully a mile above the arsenal, two others were killed and left lying on the sidewalk. They continued their retreat and crossed over to the north side of the Allegheny river on Sharpsburg bridge, the mob following them as rapidly as possible. After reaching the north side the troops scattered, and in this way the mob was divided into small bodies. The pursuit soon ceased. At Sharpsburg the troops obtained food, after which they resumed their retreat, and after a march of about twelve miles reached a place called Rose's Grove about five o'clock on Sunday afternoon. A brief halt was made there to rest the men, and the division then marched

about a mile further, to a hill near Claremont, where the troops bivouacked to await orders.

In the meantime the city was in a state of anarchy. Thousands who had not joined in the pursuit of the retreating troops gathered about the burning buildings and trains, and assisted in spreading the flames wherever they had not been applied.



RIOTERS DISTRIBUTING STOLEN WHISKEY AT PITTSBURGH.

By seven o'clock on Sunday morning, July 22d, the fire had extended from Millvale station to Twentieth street, and enveloped hundreds of cars, the extensive machine shops, two round houses, the depots and office of the Union Transfer Company, blacksmith shops, store-houses, and numerous other buildings making up the

terminal facilities of this mammoth corporation. In the round houses were 125 first-class locomotives, which had been housed in consequence of the strike. These were totally destroyed, but even the immense loss which was sustained in this item was but a trifle in the aggregate damage done.

The scenes transpiring on Liberty street, along the line of which the tracks of the railroad run, simply beggar description. While hundreds were engaged in firing the cars and making certain of the destruction of the valuable buildings at the outer depot, thousands of men, women and children engaged in pillaging the cars. Men armed with heavy sledges would break open the cars, and then the contents would be thrown out and carried off by those bent on profiting by the reign of terror. The street was almost completely blockaded by persons laboring to carry off the plunder they had gathered together. In hundreds of instances wagons were pressed into service to enable the thieves to get away with their goods. Mayor McCarthy early in the day endeavored to stop the pillage, but the handful of men at his command were unable to control the crowd, who were desperate in their anxiety to secure the goods before the pillage was checked, but the mob fired the cars and then proceeded with the work of destruction. It is impossible to form any idea of the amount of goods stolen, but hundreds of thousands will not cover the loss.

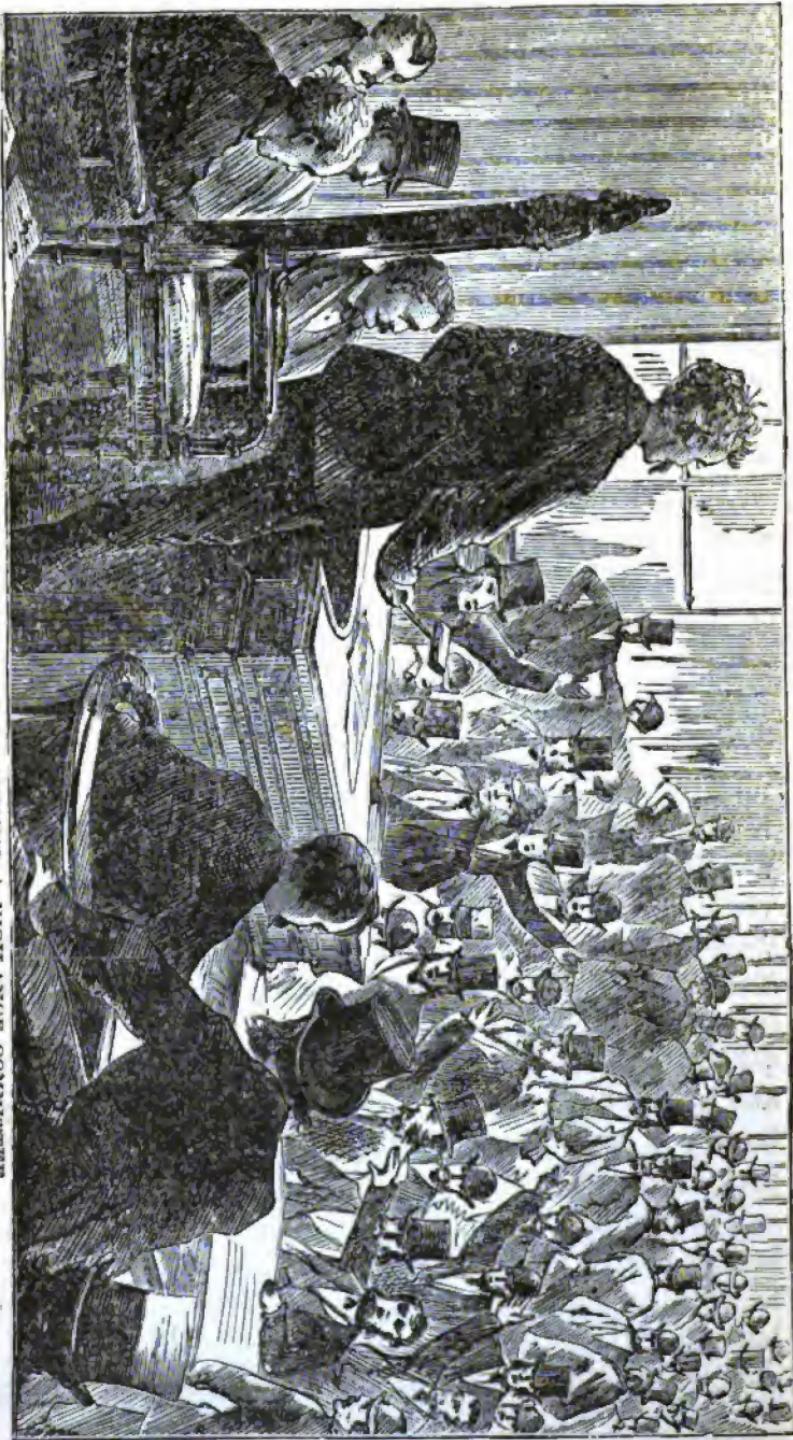
Some of the scenes, notwithstanding the terror which seemed to paralyze peaceable, orderly citizens, were ludicrous in the highest degree, and no one seemed to enjoy them with greater zest than those outraged in the wholesale plunder. Here a brawny woman could be

seen hurrying away with pairs of white kid slippers under her arms; another, carrying an infant, would be rolling a barrel of flour along the sidewalk, using her feet as the propelling power; then a man pushing a wheelbarrow loaded with white lead; boys hurried through the crowds with large-sized family Bibles as their share of the plunder; while scores of females utilized aprons and dresses to carry flour, eggs, dry goods, etc. Bundles of umbrellas, fancy parasols, hams, bacon, leaf lard, calico, blankets, laces and flour, were mixed together in the arms of robust men or carried on hastily-constructed hand-barrows.

At eleven o'clock in the morning it became apparent that something must be done to check the mob, and a number of citizens hurriedly prepared notices calling a mass meeting of citizens at old City Hall to take measures to prevent further destruction of property. The meeting was held at noon, and a large number of leading citizens responded to the call. It was decided to appoint a committee, consisting of Bishop Tuigg, of the Catholic Church, James Parke, Jr., Dr. E. Donnelly, James I. Bennett and Dr. S. F. Scovel, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, to have a conference with the rioters, while another committee was appointed to wait on the railroad authorities to ascertain what course they intended to pursue, or suggest a compromise that would put an end to the disorder which existed. The meeting then adjourned, to meet again at four o'clock in the afternoon. The committee to wait on the rioters failed to induce them to refrain from further destruction of property, and the railroad authorities could not be found.

From the time the military fled up to three o'clock in

CITIZENS' MEETING AT PITTSBURG IN ORGANIZING A VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.



the afternoon no effort had been made to check the riot other than the meeting of citizens referred to. The mob worked very quietly, and it was a noticeable fact that few of the railroad employés were engaged in the work of destruction. Here and there a man who had been discharged might have been seen leading a crowd, but generally the ringleaders were men who had never been employed on any railroad. Many half-grown boys were foremost in the work of devastation, and vied with the older ones in their efforts. The operations were carried on very quietly, and the multitude of men, women and children who filled the streets and occupied positions on the hillside south of the railroad, looked on with astonishment while the destruction of property continued.

At 3.30 a burning car was run down the grade under the sheds surrounding the Union depot. Up to this time it was hoped that the building would escape, but the mass of pine lumber used in shedding over tracks was soon a sea of fire. While the fire was raging here, the mob pillaged the freight depot of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad, which is in close vicinity. Boxes of freight received for shipment were broken and valuable contents carried off. After plundering the depot for an hour, and when flour, hams, and all kinds of provisions had been carried away, the torch was applied, and soon the vast depot and company's general offices adjoining were a mass of flames.

The Union depot was a large, four-story building, having a frontage on Liberty street of about seventy feet, and extending back about two hundred feet. The lower floor was used as waiting-rooms, ticket offices, and the company's offices. The upper floor was occu-

pied by the Keystone Hotel Company, and was one of the finest houses in the city. The whole building was modern style of architecture, and was considered one of



THE MOB BURNING THE FREIGHT TRAINS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

the best arranged depots in the country, and was finished about seven years since. In the rear of the depot, and extending back five hundred feet, were lines of neat pine sheds, covering the different tracks, to pro-

tect passengers from the weather. It was under these the burning car was run. The freight depot of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railroad was a large shed, built fronting on Grant street, and extending from Washington street to Seventh avenue. The company's general offices were in a four-story brick building fronting on Seventh avenue. These were totally destroyed, as was also the depot of the Adams Express Company, located on Grant street. The books and valuable papers had been removed from the Union depot office, as well as from the other buildings, before the fire reached them. The fire department of the city continued on duty from the time of the first alarm, but were not allowed to throw any water on or make any effort to save the property of the railroad company. They consequently directed their efforts to saving the private property on the north side of Liberty street. In this they were mainly successful, although six dwellings and a sash factory, located near the round house, were destroyed early in the day.

When the Union depot building was fired, followed by the Pan Handle office, a panic seized the citizens, who had up to this time calmly folded their arms and looked on. It was feared that the conflagration would sweep the entire portion of this city south of the Pan Handle Railroad tracks, as many of the buildings were small frames, as dry as tinder. At this juncture the fire department of Allegheny, which had been held in readiness in case of an outbreak on that side of the river, was summoned to assist in staying the progress of the flames. The Pan Handle Railroad building was the last one in the line, and the Allegheny department was placed on Seventh avenue to check the progress

of the flames in that direction. When this last building was fired, the whole territory between Seventh avenue and Millvale station, a distance of three miles, was a mass of flames, the railway company's property being all between the south side of Liberty street and the bluff, the hill extending from Seventh avenue to Millvale. The small houses on the hillside, although badly scorched, were not destroyed. The railroad buildings destroyed were as follows: Two round houses, one machine shop, superintendent's office, car repair shop, blacksmith shop, three or four oil houses, Union Transfer depot, and the offices of the Pullman Car Company, laundry and offices, despatcher's office, powder house, Union Depot Hotel, Pan Handle Railroad engine house, general offices and freight depot, and freight depot of the Adams Express Company.

The freight depot of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis, and general offices of the same company, were fired at 4.30 o'clock this afternoon. These are in close proximity to the Union depot.

About five o'clock the fire from the Union depot communicated to the immense grain elevator at the corner of Grant and Washington streets. This was built of huge timbers and covered with slate. It contained a large quantity of grain. The destruction of these buildings seemed to satisfy the rioters, as they began to disperse while they were burning. Most of those who deserted the crowd loaded themselves down with plunder and wended their way homeward.

Throughout the entire day various gangs of rioters were searching for General Pearson and the general officers of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the latter being obnoxious to them on account of bringing the Philadel-

phia troops to Pittsburgh, while General Pearson was believed to have given the order to fire on the mob. His house was attacked, entered, and gutted by the rioters.



THE MOB SACKING THE FREIGHT CARS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

The people of Pittsburgh were appalled at the terrible scenes of Saturday night and Sunday. They had brought their trouble on themselves in a large measure;

they had sowed the wind and they reaped the whirlwind. When the outbreak began, the sympathy of all classes was extended to the strikers, and so bitter were the denunciations of the railroad company that riot and bloodshed, arson and pillage were foreseen by those who calmly witnessed the struggle; but no words of warning were heeded, and when the first shot was fired into the troops by the mob at Twenty-eighth street there were not less than five thousand people present, men, women and children, and they unanimously treated the command to disperse with contempt, and then, when the troops did fire and clear the track, the denunciations were loud and deep on every hand. Riot and bloodshed during the night were known to be inevitable, but the citizens did absolutely nothing to prevent it, and had the mayor issued the proclamation calling for volunteers which he did the next day, he would have been derided and hooted; and so the storm broke at midnight and raged in all its deadly fury for twelve hours. Then the people began to realize their mistake and to say to one another, this thing has gone far enough and must now be stopped. The reader will see the significance of the words "gone far enough." While the property of the railroad company alone and that for which it was directly responsible was being consumed, interference was not thought of, but when the fire reached the limits of the company's property there was an outcry that it must be checked. It never seemed to enter the minds of the people that they, as tax-payers, were directly responsible and would have to pay for all the damage done. The simple fact is that had the citizens not shown such an alarming disregard of all law and order, the outbreak

would never have occurred. The desperate communist leaders and plunderers in the community saw their opportunity in the weakness of the citizens, and they were aided by others as desperate from other parts of the country.

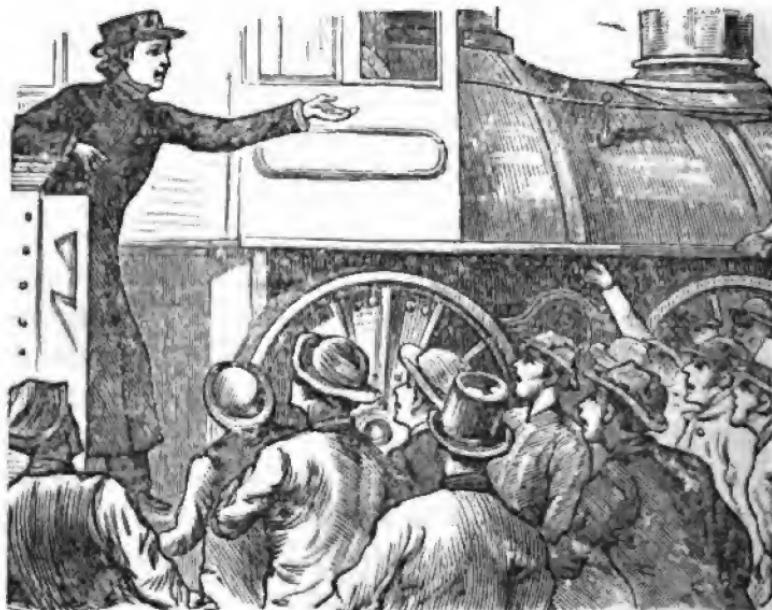
On Sunday afternoon an adjourned session of the citizens' mass-meeting was held. The mob at this time had full possession of Pittsburgh, the fires were still burning, and the work of pillage was going on. The meeting set to work to atone in part for the city's neglect to check the trouble in the first instance. A vigilance committee was organized to prevent the further destruction of property. Volunteers were not lacking, and the members were speedily armed. Citizens began to enroll themselves in considerable numbers for service under the municipal authorities, and efforts were made to prevent the spread of the insurrection. The mob, appalled by its own work, now began to disperse, and the task of the citizens was greatly simplified.

One of the most earnest workers in the efforts to put a stop to the disorder was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Pittsburgh. He went among the rioters, freely exposing himself to danger, and urged them to abandon their lawlessness and go home. While the fires were at their height, he sprang upon a locomotive, and with his face blackened with the smoke and soot of the fire, while great beads of sweat dropped from his forehead, he asked, in God's name, those belonging to his flock then among the mob to go to their homes. He was frequently interrupted by cries of "Who commenced this riot?" to which he replied, "We are not here to indulge in crimination or recrimination, or to condemn

this party and uphold that. There doubtless have been faults on both sides. Certainly we all deplore that any lives have been sacrificed."

A Voice—"What did the Philadelphia soldiers begin shooting for, and why did they kill innocent women and children?"

Another—"Where's General Pearson? We want to get hold of him!"



BISHOP TUIGG URGING THE PITTSBURGH RIOTERS TO DESIST.

The Bishop replied:—"I came before you as a citizen, at the request of citizens meeting in interest of law and order. I do not want to talk of what is past. Lives that have been sacrificed and property that has been destroyed cannot be restored. What I want to talk to you about concerns your welfare for the future."



D

A Voice—"Go on, sir. We'll listen."

The Bishop continued :—"I am authorized to say to you that you will obtain a redress of your grievances if it is in the power of the citizens of Pittsburgh to bring that result about."

A Voice—"What has Tom Scott got to say about it?"

Bishop—"The committee has not yet conferred with the railroad officials, but intend to do so as soon as we have your assistance. I can say to you, on the authority of the citizens whom I represent, that your wages will be raised to the old standard. I know that the citizens will do everything in their power to get you back your old wages." (Applause and shouts, "That is all we want!" "Give us a chance to live!")

Bishop—"Give us twenty-four hours to consult with the railroad company, and for God's sake stop these fires."

At this juncture the roar of flames became almost deafening, and the cries of the mob were in keeping with the raging element. The crowd stood and looked at the reverend gentleman, but soon tiring of this they started helter-skelter to burn more freight cars and renew the work of pillage and destruction.

After the assembling of the citizens for defence no further violence was attempted by the mob on Sunday. The fires burned down and smouldered through the night. The city was strongly patrolled, but no one slept. The people were terribly excited and painfully apprehensive of further trouble.

Monday morning found the city full of anxiety and gloom. The most exciting rumors prevailed. All felt that it was of vital importance that any fresh outbreak of the mob should be met and put down at once. But

few stores were opened, and little business was transacted. The work of enrolling and arming the citizens went on steadily, and soon a force of several thousand reliable men was formed. The command was conferred upon General James S. Negley, a veteran of the civil war.

Early in the morning the city was again thrown into a tumult of excitement by a report that almost one thousand miners from the coal banks of the Monongahela river had arrived, and were bent on pillage and were also ripe for blood. People flocked to the mayor's office and the Central station and offered their services in defence of the city against these invaders. Upon arriving at the Monongahela wharf a large body of miners commenced marching up the bank from the steamer "Elizabeth." They were not armed, and walked quietly along Second avenue to the Park, where they halted. To receive them there were two companies of the 19th Regiment and a squad of veterans drawn up across the avenue, in peculiarly advantageous position in case any trouble occurred.

The miners, however, were moderate in their conduct and did not offer to make any aggressive movement. Their leader had cautioned his men to keep sober to-day, and in a speech after the arrival of the military he stated that they had come down here under the impression that the workingmen were being abused by the Philadelphia soldiers. Mayor McCarthy made his way into the crowd and made an effective speech to the miners. He said that he was satisfied that they had come to Pittsburgh under a wrong impression, and cautioned them to remain sober to-day and go peaceably to their homes. They willingly agreed to do so.

General James S. Negley then told them he was going to take his men home and that the miners ought to do the same. This brought forth cheers from the miners and from the crowd on the pavements. The miners then marched past on their way to the wharf. During the day the miners went back to their homes.

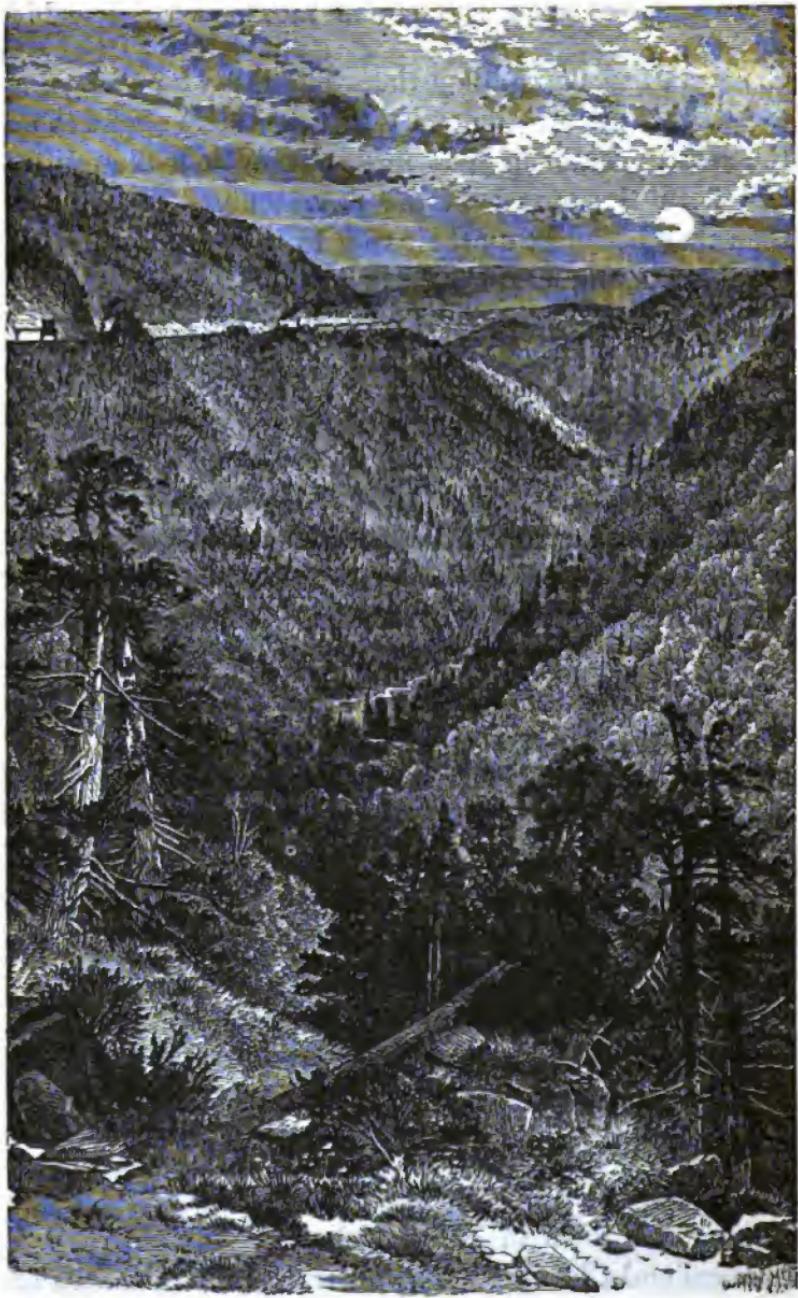
Soon after the visit of the miners, the Mayor of Pittsburgh issued the following proclamation :

TO THE CITIZENS OF PITTSBURGH :

The lawlessness and violence which has boldly defied all authority and all restraint shows that it can only be suppressed through the prompt execution of stern measures. I have determined that peace, order and quiet shall be restored to the community, and to this end now call upon all good citizens to come forward at once to the New City Hall and unite with the police and military now organized. I call upon all those who quietly continue at their usual places of business to refrain from participating in excited assemblages. All women and children are commanded to retire within their homes and remain there. All places where intoxicating liquors are sold will be closed forthwith, and remain secure and closed until permission is given to reopen the same. And by virtue of the authority vested in me I hereby declare that all riotous demonstrations must and shall be put down, and that peace and order and quiet shall reign throughout the city.

WILLIAM McCARTHY, Mayor.

Allegheny City, which lies opposite Pittsburgh, was painfully excited by the terrible events in her sister city. The lines of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago and Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroads, both of which were involved in the strike, passed through the city, thus placing Allegheny City in constant danger



SCENE AT ALLEGRIPPAS, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

116

of a visit from the mob. A letter from that place, on the 23d, thus describes the situation there:

The strikers still hold the fort. In Allegheny City to-night the situation remains practically unchanged. All trains have been taken off the road. Consequently western bound passengers will be obliged to remain here until the trouble is at an end, or else move westward by boat on the Ohio river. Merchants and others doing business in the city and lying down the road are seen to-night in squads walking to their homes, while handsomely dressed ladies are perched on all kinds of vehicles, which move slowly along the roads toward the aristocratic suburb of Sewickley. At the end of the bridge on the Allegheny City side are cannon placed in position to sweep all the approaches to that city. The guns are heavily loaded with grape and canister and a full force of soldiers guards them by day and by night. They are placed there to prevent any marauding party from Pittsburgh crossing to that city. At Allegheny City the strikers have full possession of the property of the Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad and the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad, and the tracks are effectually blocked with trains of passenger and freight cars which cannot be moved, as there are no engines with which to perform the work. This morning the Chicago express got as far as Irwin avenue, lying there full of passengers from nine A. M. until nearly one P. M. No trains left till three P. M., when the Sharpsville "accommodation," which had been lying for two hours without an engine, was supplied and departed. Two tracks of this road for twenty miles westward are filled with loaded and empty cars.

The exact number of the killed and wounded in the Pittsburgh riots is not known, and probably never will be, as many of the injured rioters kept their hurts a secret, for fear of falling into the hands of the law. As

far as is known the number was as follows : killed, 53; wounded, 109. Of these the troops lost 6 killed outright and 15 wounded. Two of the wounded soldiers subsequently died of their injuries.

The value of the property destroyed by the mob was enormous, and is estimated at from six to ten millions of dollars.

Monday, July 23d, witnessed the end of the violence at Pittsburgh. The citizens were now too strong and too well armed for the mob to hope for any advantage over them, and no further outbreak was attempted.

On Monday a special train was sent out by the railroad authorities for the Philadelphia troops. They were taken on board and transported to Blairsville Intersection, on the Pennsylvania Railroad, where they went into camp to await orders.

Concerning the conduct of these troops at Pittsburgh, Mr. E. V. Smalley, the correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, writes as follows :

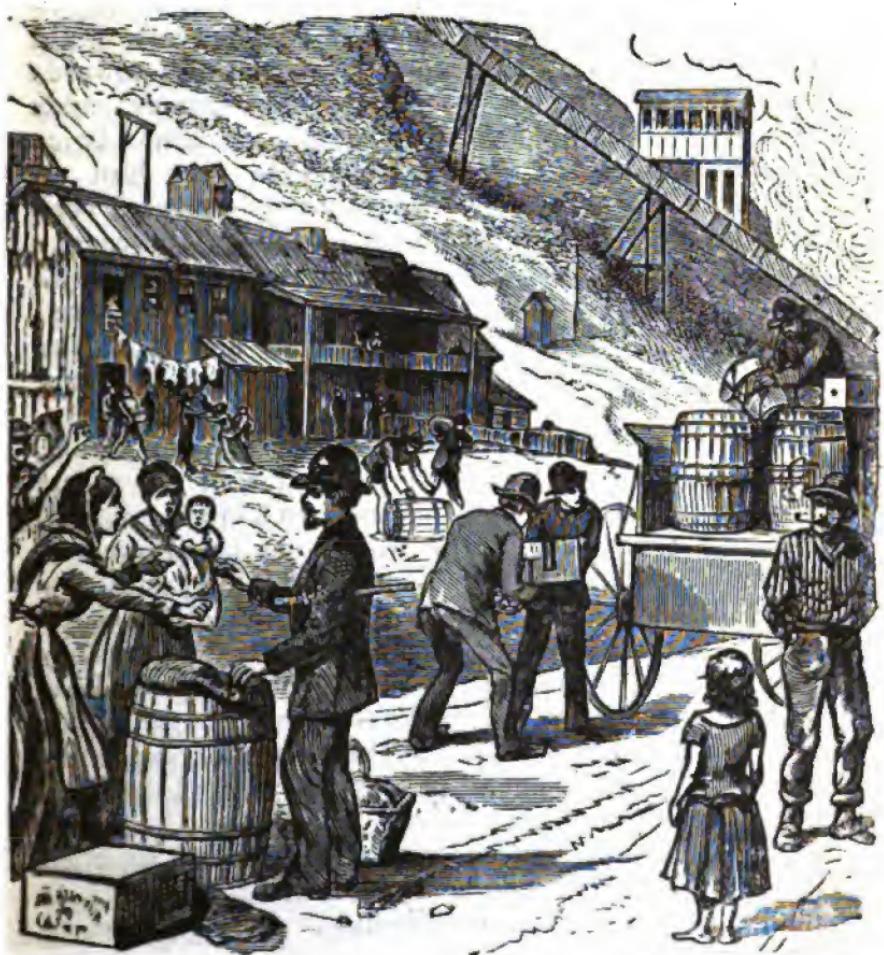
I was at first disposed, hearing the chorus of denunciation of the Philadelphia troops, to think they were to blame. It seemed as if they ought not to have fired on the mob on Saturday ; and on Sunday, when the combat reopened, they should have fought their way back to the passenger depot and defended it from the incendiaries instead of retreating to the country, but further information leads to a different judgment. From the moment of their arrival these troops were made to feel that they were in the midst of an intensely hostile population. Everywhere they were hooted at. They came as a matter of duty to protect public and private property, and they were treated like invading vandals. The Pittsburgh troops gave them no assistance, but evidently sympathized with the

rioters. When they moved forward to disperse the mob they were first fired upon and received besides a volley of stones from the hillside. They only fired in reply by orders, and, as soldiers, had to obey orders without trusting their wisdom. The fact that innocent persons, mingling with the mob as spectators, were killed does not offset the case, for such is the result of all collisions between mobs and soldiers executing the law, and yet on this account there arose a frantic cry for vengeance on these men. It seemed as if the whole city was crazy for their blood. They were even denounced in the Sunday papers, pandering to the passions of the mob, as Philadelphia roughs, when in fact they are among the finest citizen soldiery in the country, and have repeatedly proven their discipline and courage. The rioters closed in upon them with cannon and small arms, intent upon massacring every man of them. Not a hand was raised in their behalf by the local military or local police. No wonder that they determined to leave the city to its fate. I have an account of their retreat from an impartial eye-witness, by which it appears they moved out of the city in good order, covering carefully their Gatling guns, marching with a slow step, and by command of their officers refraining from firing on the mob that was keeping up a desultory fusilade upon them until they got out of the thickly-settled districts, where there were women and children. Then they turned and gave their pursuers a volley which put them to flight. In this march they lost several men killed.

General Brinton, the commander of the Philadelphia troops, thus spoke of his men to the representative of the Pittsburgh *Telegraph*:

A reporter this morning called upon General Brinton at his head-quarters in the Western Pennsylvania Hospital building, and found him very affable and dis-

posed to talk freely. The general very frankly says that all who were connected with the unfortunate affair on Saturday blundered more or less, and he makes no effort to free himself from blame at the expense of others. He thinks the great mistake of the day was in allowing the crowd to close in on the soldiery as he did, and states that if he had been in command this would not have happened. When going out he had no idea that he would find the mob so determined and brave. He supposed the crowd could be overawed, and had no idea of ordering troops to fire. He says he can swear that General Pearson never gave the fatal order, and that none of the officers did. The men did the firing themselves, and if they had not they would have been disarmed by the mob which was pressing in close upon them. The general does not know whether the sheriff attempted to read the riot act or not, as he was separated some distance from that official. Fifteen of his command were wounded in the encounter at Twenty-eighth street, Saturday afternoon, nearly all of them before a single shot was fired by the soldiers. The general states that he was surprised at the steadiness and bravery of the men during the night in the round house, and says they marched out without leaving a canteen. He had never seen men march better to parade than these men did from their burning prison. They not only held the round house, but the machine shop, carpenter shop, and all the property at that point, until they were burned out. But two of the soldiers were wounded while they were besieged, and these men were injured but slightly and were not prevented from doing duty right along. On Sunday morning, when they were driven from their intrenchments, they had to make their way through the mob and retreat as best they could, without the slightest assistance from the police; and the general says that members of the force, wearing the uniform of the city, and the shield upon their breasts, hooted and yelled



PITTSBURGH POLICEMEN RECOVERING PROPERTY STOLEN BY THE MOB
IN THE RAILROAD RIOTS.

after them, and on Penn street shot into their ranks several times. In this connection the general says that when he afterwards brought the matter to the notice of Mayor McCarthy, the latter said that if he (Brinton) would designate the men, he (the mayor) would arrest them, but volunteered to do nothing towards searching out the guilty parties. The general adds that even then he had to telegraph his honor twice before he would even condescend to give him an answer. The general is evidently not impressed very highly either with the conduct of the city or county officials, nor the people who were present at Saturday's catastrophe. He states that no fatal shots were fired at his troops until they had marched almost to the arsenal gate. He stopped there because he was nearly out of ammunition, and he wanted to obtain a supply. When he got there he addressed Major Buffington, telling him his desire, when the latter, in the rudest manner it was possible for one man to address another, told him to get out, as he would not be allowed to remain there a minute. The general then withdrew and continued his march to the heights above Claremont. During the march he lost six killed and twenty wounded. He declares his intention to lay the case of Major Buffington before the secretary of war. The total casualties of the Philadelphia troops during Saturday, according to General Brinton, were six killed and thirty-seven wounded. When he reached Claremont with his command, Superintendent Grubbs supplied them with rations and did everything he could to render their condition comfortable. In fact, General Brinton says that all the people in that locality were very kind and attentive to the troops. The general said that Colonel Guthrie had put him under great obligation for a large quantity of shirts and other articles for his men, and he desired publicly to thank him for the same. General Brinton thinks great injustice has been done to General Pearson, as the latter did not

give the order to fire, as is alleged, and that when he left the round house at nine o'clock on Saturday evening he said he was going to get rations. He had his uniform on, and bade him good-night in the area between the machine shop and the round house. General Brinton said, during his entire service all through the war, he never was in a place where there was so much danger as in the round house during the reign of the mob.

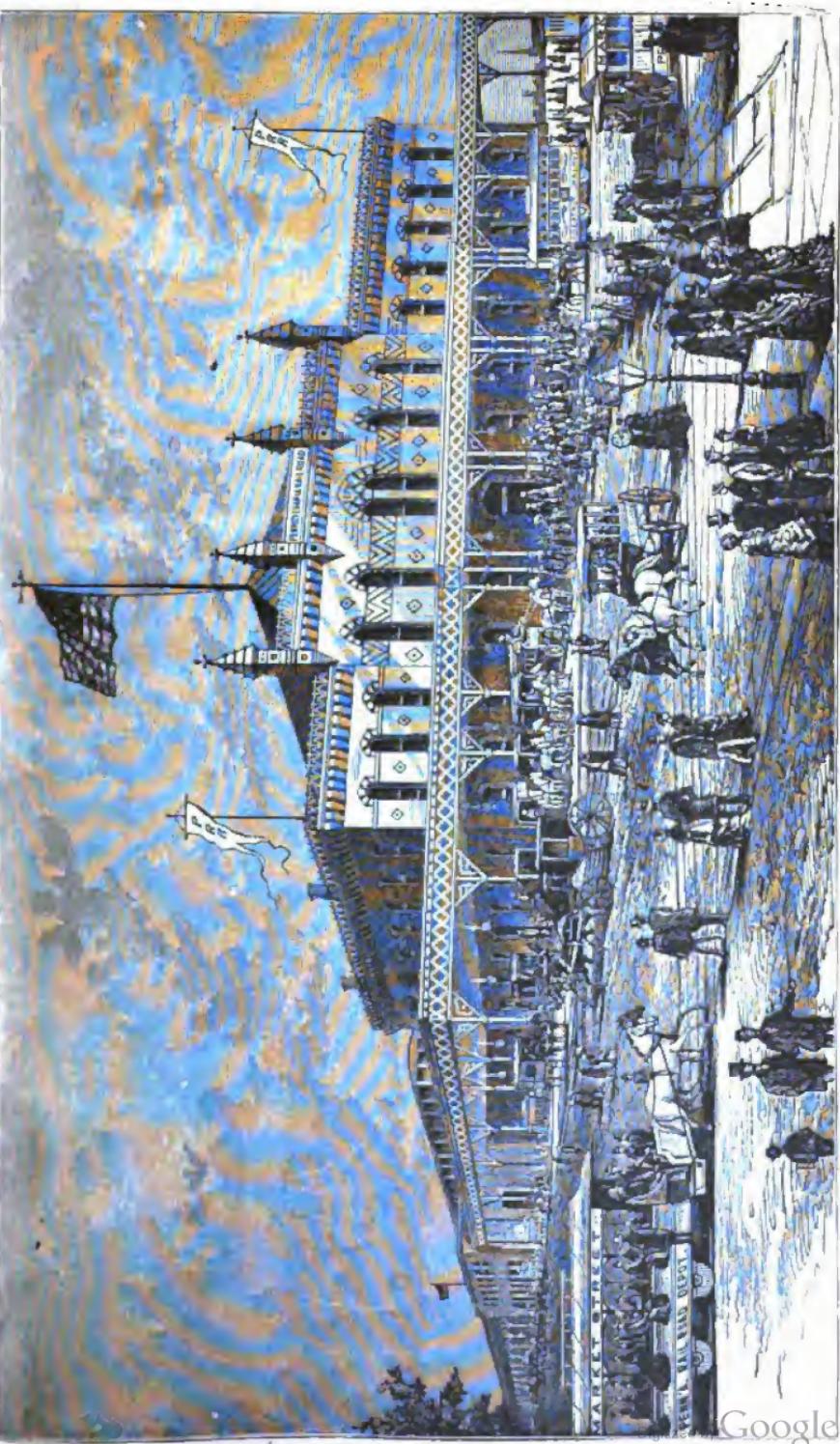
The strike had now become so general along the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad and its branches, that the company wisely decided not to attempt the running of its trains until the civil and military authorities could guarantee their safety. On the Pittsburgh, Chicago & Fort Wayne orders were given to discontinue all trains, including the passenger trains. The strikers thereupon took possession of the road and ran all the passenger trains as nearly on schedule time as possible. The leader of this movement was Robert Ammond, who had been a brakeman on the road. For three days he had entire charge of this important line, and managed it, it must be confessed, with ability. His popularity with the strikers induced them to appoint him their superintendent, and for three days he held this position. On Saturday evening he was an humble brakeman ; on Sunday morning he was a great railroad manager and magnate, despatching trains, receiving all despatches from employés, officials, stockholders, even from Manager Layng himself ; on Tuesday evening he had resigned his high office, and sat in the door of his little cottage, with his blooming wife and child, a simple brakeman again, happy that the burdensome responsibility had been shifted from his mind. During the three days when he held the office not a single

mistake or accident occurred, though excitement and danger attended everywhere. The conduct of the road was entirely in his hands, even to the issuing of passes. Mr. Layng himself could not have deadheaded it over the road without a pass countersigned by Robert Ammond. Disaffection began its work, however. The older heads among the strikers lay close together and whispered that "Bob" was too young, too inexperienced for so grave a responsibility. A conference was held, and two of these "old heads" appointed to counsel and advise with him in his work. The great manager's proud spirit could not brook this slight, and he stepped down and out in the midst of his official glory.

On the 30th of July he was arrested and held to answer the charge of leading the mob in their seizure of the company's property.

PRINCIPAL DEPOT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD, WEST PHILADELPHIA.

Google



CHAPTER IV.

THE STRIKE ON THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

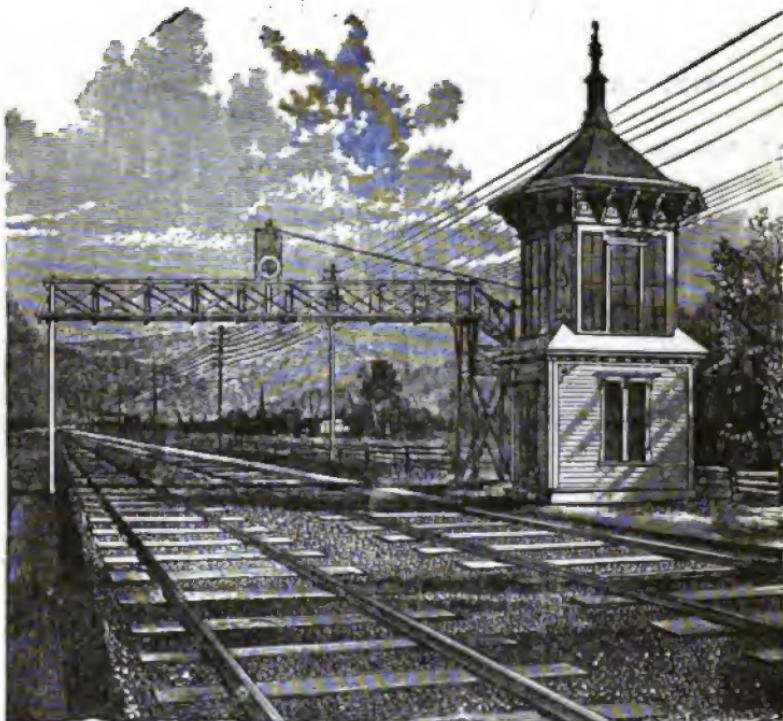
The Governor of Pennsylvania calls upon the United States for Aid—Proclamation of the President—Regular Troops ordered to Philadelphia—The Strike at Altoona—Success of the Rioters—Troop Train Stopped—Troops Driven Back—Colonel Snowden Retreats to Harrisburg—The Strikers Hold the Road—The Mob Seize the Railroad at Harrisburg—The City Authorities Powerless—Threats of the Rioters—Guarding the State Arsenal—Citizens form Armed Companies—Surrender of Militiamen to the Mob—The City Safe—Arrival of the Governor—The Strikers in Possession at Columbia—Excitement at Philadelphia—Precautions of the Mayor and Police—The Strike Begun—Scenes at the West Philadelphia Depot—The Police Whip the Mob—A Gallant Charge—The Mob Held Down—Vigorous Action of the Authorities—Attempt to Start Trains Resisted by the Mob—Another Victory for the Police—The Rioters Fire an Oil Train—Determination of the Citizens to Put Down an Outbreak—Arrival of General Hancock and the Regulars—The Danger over—Freight Trains Sent Out—Governor Hartranft at Philadelphia—His Orders—Departure of the Governor and Troops to Open the Railroad—The Strikers Overawed at Altoona—Train Men Forced to do their Duty—The Troops Move from Blairstown Intersection—Pittsburgh Occupied—Attack on the Regulars—Capture of Prisoners—The Governor and the Strikers—The Strike Crushed—The Road Opened.

In the meantime Governor Hartranft had been hurrying homeward as fast as a special train could carry him. The events of Saturday and Sunday at Pittsburgh and in other parts of the State were reported to him by telegraph, and he resolved to demand the assistance of the Federal government. On Sunday night he caused the following telegram to be forwarded from Harrisburg to the President of the United States:

HARRISBURG, PA., July 22d, 1877.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, President of the United States,
Washington:

Domestic violence exists within the State of Pennsylvania, in the city of Pittsburgh and along the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and other railroads in said State, which the authorities are unable to suppress, and the Legislature of Pennsylvania cannot be con-



BLOCK SIGNAL STATION, PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

vened in time to meet the emergency, I have, therefore, to request that in conformity to the Constitution the government of the United States shall furnish me with military force sufficient to suppress disorder, and to protect persons and property against domestic violence.

JOHN F. HARTRANFT,
Governor of Pennsylvania.

President Hayes at once complied with this demand, and issued the following proclamation :

By the President of the United States of America :

A Proclamation.

Whereas, It is provided in the Constitution of the United States that the United States shall protect every State in this Union on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened against domestic violence ; and,

Whereas, The Governor of the State of Pennsylvania has represented that domestic violence exists in said State which the authorities of said State are unable to suppress ; and,

Whereas, The laws of the United States require that in all cases of insurrection in any State, or of obstruction to the laws thereof, whenever in the judgment of the President it becomes necessary to use the military forces to suppress such insurrection or obstruction to the laws he shall forthwith by proclamation command such insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time :

Now, therefore, I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens of the United States and all persons within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States against aiding, countenancing, abetting, or taking part in such unlawful proceedings, and I do hereby warn all persons engaged in or connected with the said domestic violence and obstruction of the laws to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before twelve o'clock noon on the 24th day of July instant.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the city of Washington this 23d day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight

hundred and seventy-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and second.

By the President: R. B. HAYES,
WILLIAM M. EVARTS, *Secretary of State.*

At the same time President Hayes ordered General Hancock to proceed to Philadelphia with such troops as could be spared from Baltimore, and orders were despatched to the Eastern posts to reinforce General Hancock at Philadelphia with every available man. On the same day orders were issued by the Governor of Pennsylvania placing the entire militia force of the State under arms.

In the meantime the strike spread rapidly along the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, from Pittsburgh eastward.

At eleven o'clock on Saturday, July 21st, the train men of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Altoona struck, and taking possession of the road and shops at that point, refused to allow the passage of freight trains. They were joined by a large number of tramps and loafers from the city, and towards nightfall numbered several thousand men. No disturbance was attempted on Saturday. On Sunday, the 22d, the news from Pittsburgh was received and created great excitement. The rioters declared that no more troops should pass Altoona on their way to Pittsburgh; and when it was announced, early on Sunday morning, that a detachment of 250 men, under Generals Beaver and Lyle, were nearing the city, the strikers prepared to stop them.

The train bearing the troops entered Altoona slowly



DEPOT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD AT ALTOONA—SCENE OF THE STRIKE.

and cautiously. As it reached the depot the engine was taken off, in order that a heavier engine might be connected with the train for the purpose of taking it over the mountain west of Altoona. The mountain engine was backed out of the round house, but as it appeared, the rioters, who had surrounded the depot to the number of at least 3,000 men, and who were terribly excited, took possession of the engine and returned it to the round house. General Beaver then ordered his men to march down and bring the engine out again, but upon reaching the round house they were surrounded by the mob, and finally surrendered their arms. Practically, then, General Beaver was left without any command, except the men under General Lyle and Colonel Snowden, about 160 all told, and all Philadelphians. These troops remained at the depot in a broiling sun for an hour and a half, and were then ordered down the track to break into the round house in order to get the motive power to take the train over the mountains. The mob had increased by this time to fully 5,000 excited and violent men. This round house is situated on the side of a cut, and between two bridges which cross the road. The troops passed under the western bridge, eastward from the round house, the hillside on the right being dense with rioters, the houses on the left being occupied by strikers, and a mob filling the two bridges. The men were armed, some with the muskets surrendered by the Clearfield militia. About twenty of the strikers were guarding the gate of the round house, and when the troops had been marched up prepared to force the gate, the mob showered upon them every vile epithet, threat, and insult that could be invented, and gave them every reason to apprehend

that any attempt to open the gate by them would be the signal for an instantaneous and terrible assault.

The rioters crowded up against the troops, standing shoulder to shoulder with them, shaking their fists in the faces of the men, and throwing stones, some of which wounded a number of the members of the Wecacoe Legion. The rioters—those who were armed—stood with vindictive looks, their right hands resting upon their hips or thrust in their breasts, as if prepared to shoot at the slightest provocation. Having received information that the piston-rod of the locomotive had been removed, and the fires drawn from the furnace, it was concluded not to essay the effort of taking out an engine; that was useless, and to incur a foolish sacrifice of life. The troops would have been at a great disadvantage, and had a conflict taken place, would have been severely handled. They withdrew from the vicinity of the round house when the condition of the locomotive was ascertained.

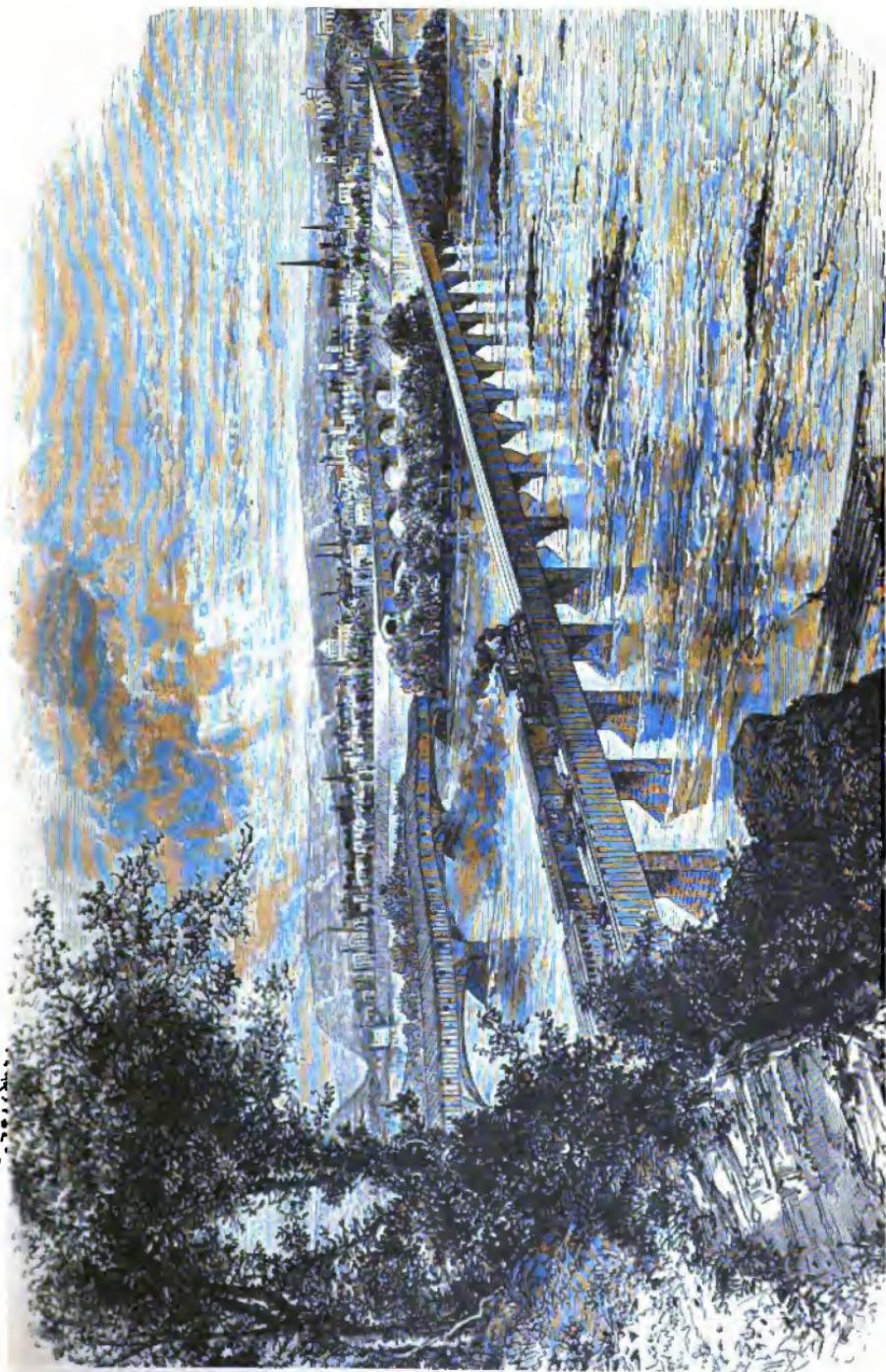
A body of strikers then offered the troops a special train to the east, if they would promise to leave. This was declined, however. Colonel Snowden finding, upon inquiry, that it was impossible to go west on account of obstructions to the road and inability to secure an engine, determined upon a feint, by going east, as if to Philadelphia, and upon reaching Huntingdon to go south and endeavor to make Pittsburgh from that direction, or await the arrival of reinforcements. Upon nearing Huntingdon, Colonel Snowden received a despatch stating that the rioters had assembled there in force, and that the train on the road to Bedford had been overturned and the road completely blockaded.

Colonel Snowden then telegraphed to the superin-

tendent of the Harrisburg division whether the troop could get to that city, and the reply came that transportation could not be furnished to that point on account of the condition of the mob assembled in the depot, and determined not to allow the troop to return. This mob, he was assured, was fully 3,000 strong, and was vowing revenge against the troops, because, as was reported, they believed them all pecuniarily interested in the Pennsylvania Railroad. In order to avoid any destruction to railroad property, which the superintendent thought would surely ensue if the troops came to the city, he refused to give them transportation. The command then travelled east, and dropped off at Bailey's Station, about twenty-three miles west of the State capital, and waited there for the 7.30 accommodation train (Monday morning) to proceed to Rockville. On the train they were joined by a number of General Lyle's men, who had returned from Altoona, the general remaining at that place, where he was ordered to await further orders. It would have been perfect folly for the troops to remain at that place a moment later than they did, owing to the inflamed condition of the strikers. It was upon a calm review of the situation that Colonel Snowden took the responsibility of coming eastward, after all his efforts to get to Pittsburgh had failed.

At Bailey's Station the men had no breakfast, and were in poor condition when they got to Rockville. Here the Philadelphia troops separated from the other soldiers on the train, and marched down the track, apparently making direct for the Harrisburg depot, but after tramping for a mile or so, they took the road to Englestown. It was necessary to keep the purpose of

HARRISBURG, PA., SHOWING THE RAILROAD BRIDGE THREATENED BY THE RIOTERS.



this movement a secret, even from the other soldiers who had determined to go direct to town. Some of the rioters soon learned that these troops had left the track, and it was surmised they had taken the Northern Central road, and were going by the city in that direction, and endeavored to intercept them; others, hearing that they were coming down the track, marched out to meet them.

The other troops took the track, and were captured, as we shall see farther on. In the meantime, however, Colonel Snowden, with all his men, and all their accoutrements and clothing, even to their heavy over-coats, took the Englestown road, and made a long circuit of about twelve miles to Progress, a village about two miles northeast of Harrisburg, and thence in a direct line marched to the State arsenal, thus completely deceiving the rioters, who had formed their plans with great care to capture the troops, who executed their movement without the loss of a single article belonging to the command, and reached the arsenal about five o'clock on Monday afternoon.

From this time until the arrival of Governor Hartman and the State forces, on their way to Pittsburgh, the situation at Altoona remained unchanged. The rioters held possession of the road, allowing no freight trains to pass, but making no effort to interfere with the passenger trains.

The strikers at Harrisburg began operations on the morning of Sunday, July 23d. About ten o'clock several railroaders, encouraged by a large number of persons, went to the locomotives of several freight trains, and demanded that the engineers and firemen should leave their engines. The demand was readily

complied with, and as the railroad men descended from their engines they were greeted with loud cheers from their friends.

There had been indications on Saturday night of a strike along the middle division, but the railroad authorities were unwilling to believe that trouble would take place. The interference with a freight train and the hooting and stoning out of soldiers who passed through for Pittsburgh from Philadelphia were attributed to irresponsible outsiders by them, but all their hopes were dispelled on Sunday morning at ten o'clock, when, at the command of several apparent strangers, the engineers and firemen of several freight trains descended from their locomotives after having housed them. All the freight trains were deserted. The round houses in the upper portion of the city contained about forty locomotives, while over twelve hundred cars were standing on the sidings in the same vicinity. The strike was general on the middle division, between twelve and fifteen hundred being affected by it. Of these four or five hundred were employed in Harrisburg, most of them in the Pennsylvania round houses. A crowd collected at the Pennsylvania depot early on Sunday morning, and by two o'clock in the afternoon it had swollen to several thousands. Many of them congregated out of idle curiosity, but a considerable number were attracted by a determination to interfere with the passage through the city of several hundred Philadelphia soldiers destined for Pittsburgh. It was also believed that among the military would be several companies of negroes, and against them numerous dire threats were made. The ammunition for the expected white troops had been got in readiness at the

State arsenal, but it was deemed prudent, considering the excitement at Altoona and in the city, to countermand the order, and the ammunition was returned to the arsenal. Had any of the military arrived, it is highly probable they would have encountered considerable difficulty in passing through the city, the ring-leaders in the strike having expressed the determination to throw all possible obstacles in their way.

A meeting of three or four thousand people, many of them railroaders, was addressed on a common, a few hundred yards above the depot, by a man named Torbett, who justified the strikers in their course and predicted their triumphant success. He counselled them not to destroy railroad or other property. He intimated that if attacked by troops they had a perfect right, in self-defence, to strike back, as their brethren had done in the affray at Pittsburgh. Torbett spoke from the top of a box-car, and when he referred to the military he was loudly cheered. After the meeting the crowd surged toward the depot. About eight o'clock the day express east, detained nearly five hours by the car fire at Pittsburgh, arrived.

The crowd gathered about the train, and several persons detached the engine several times, when the railroad company officials ordered the engine to be taken to the round house. The passengers were compelled to lie over at Harrisburg. On the train were about a dozen soldiers, who had grown tired of the service which they had rendered at Altoona. Several of them were sick; and one of them, named Ballenger, a perfumer, of Philadelphia, who had been sunstruck, was taken to the Harrisburg hospital for treatment.

The principal arsenal of the State of Pennsylvania,

containing a large supply of arms and ammunition of all kinds, is located at Harrisburg. The ammunition for the troops called into the service by the Governor was being prepared there. In view of the threatening condition of affairs, it was deemed best to station a guard of city troops at the arsenal. This was done on Sunday, and the force was increased during the next



RAILROAD BRIDGE OVER THE SUSQUEHANNA ABOVE HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

day or two as rapidly as possible. By direction of the State authorities seven cannon, occupying a position in the Capitol grounds, were spiked, on Sunday afternoon, as a precautionary measure.

During the day the Mayor of Harrisburg issued a proclamation, calling upon the people to desist from

gathering in crowds on the streets, and to remain quiet until an amicable settlement of the troubles could be had; and requested the saloon-keepers to close their houses during the excitement. The proclamation was unheeded, and when the mayor attempted to address the mob later in the day, at the depot, he was rudely hustled aside.

During Sunday and Monday the rioters had everything their own way at Harrisburg. The police force of that city numbered twenty men, and was too small to offer the slightest resistance to the mob. No violence was done by the strikers to property, because no resistance was offered to the will of the mob. The railroad officials promptly withdrew their trains where opposition to their running was displayed by the mob, and no effort was made to risk the company's property. The workmen in several of the large industrial establishments in the city stopped work and joined the strikers, who were also reinforced largely by the roughs and disreputable classes of the town. During the night an attempt was made to throw a train from the track as it was coming into Harrisburg by the Reading Railroad, with several companies of State troops, but the effort fortunately failed.

On the 23d it was announced to the strikers that a detachment of eighteen Philadelphia militiamen (whose movements from Altoona we have related), who had been cut off from their commands, and were in a half-starving condition on the western side of the Susquehanna, were willing to surrender to the strikers, if assured of food and protection. About four o'clock a crowd of over one hundred persons crossed the wagon and foot-bridge to be present at the capitulation of the

disgusted troops. When the militia observed the mob they were panic-stricken, supposing that they were to be attacked, and they retreated up the Susquehanna river as rapidly as possible. In an hour or two communication was established with them, when arrangements were perfected for their surrender to the mob, which occurred soon after. The mob then hurried on their prisoners, and amid cheers marched them through the main street of the city to a hotel, where the captured militiamen were fed. The captors carried the arms of their prisoners.

The troops had been straggling about the country since Saturday, and appeared almost starved. They asserted that their sympathies were with the railroad employés, and that they were anxious to go to their homes. The strikers disarmed about half a dozen other militiamen who had strayed from their regiments or come here to join their companies stationed at the State arsenal.

The city authorities, warned by the fate of Pittsburgh, called on the citizens, on Monday, to arm for protection against the mob. About one thousand reliable men answered the call, and were supplied with arms and organized into companies. These companies were immediately thrown out on patrol duty. The authorities decided not to attempt to break up the mob. The Governor was hastening towards the capital, troops were arriving from various parts of the State, and it was decided to hold everything in readiness for action, but not to interfere forcibly with the mob unless the rioters should offer fresh violence.

On the morning of the 23d the mob forced an entrance into Altemire's gun store, on Second street,

and seized a quantity of firearms. Mayor Patterson addressed the rioters, and induced them to return a part of their plunder. By nightfall the citizens' force was strong enough for firmer measures. At half-past eleven at night, an armed mob took possession of the Western Union Telegraph office, and drove out the operators. Somewhat later the sheriff, at the head of a body of armed citizens, drove back the mob from the office, and restored the operators.

On the 25th, Governor Hartranft passed through Harrisburg, *en route* for Philadelphia, at which point he meant to establish his head-quarters until he could collect a force strong enough to crush all opposition to the law.

On Sunday, the 22d, the train men at Columbia, 103 miles west of Philadelphia, and an important point on the eastern division of the Pennsylvania road, joined the strike. All engines were housed, and no freight trains were permitted to move either way. During the day several attempts were made to get engines out of the round house, of which the strikers held possession, but the rioters boarded the engines, ordered the engineers and firemen off, and ran the locomotives back into the house. The excitement was very great, and increased daily, the strikers, as usual, being joined by all the disreputable and dangerous characters of the place. On the afternoon of the 24th the rioters compelled a force of track men to suspend work, taking their picks and shovels from them, and marching them into the town like prisoners. They declared that if they were interfered with, or if troops were sent to Columbia, they would fire the railroad buildings and trains. The authorities were powerless to deal with the

trouble, and no effort was made to disperse the rioters, who remained in possession of the company's property until the appearance of Governor Hartranft, backed by a strong military force, induced them to cease their violence and return to their duty.

Philadelphia, as has been said, is one of the most important points on the Pennsylvania Railroad. It is also the second city of the Union, with respect to population, and the chief manufacturing city of the new world. Several lines of railroad centre there, and thousands of workingmen find employment in its various industrial establishments. Like all large cities Philadelphia contains a large class of vagrants and criminals, who would be exceedingly troublesome to manage in case of a riot of any degree of importance. It was certain that the strike on the Pennsylvania Railroad would extend to Philadelphia, and by no means sure that the employés of the other roads entering the city would not follow the example of the Pennsylvania men. It was therefore of the highest importance that measures should be taken at once to prevent the strike from assuming the character of a riot.

As has been related, Colonel Scott, the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, promptly called upon the city authorities for protection for the company's property in the city of Philadelphia, and the Mayor responded to this request by detailing a force of 150 policemen, for duty in the vicinity of the depot and yards of the Pennsylvania Company at West Philadelphia. The city military companies were sent to Pittsburgh on Friday, the 20th, and from that time the duty of protecting all the vast interests at stake in Philadelphia devolved upon the Mayor and police force.

Philadelphia was profoundly excited by the news from Pittsburgh on Sunday, the 22d. Until a late hour of the night, the streets were thronged with persons eager to learn the news from the scene of trouble. For the first time since the close of the civil war, the afternoon papers issued Sunday editions, which were quickly bought up, and read with the most painful interest. It was understood that the train men at the West Philadelphia yards would join in the strike, and there was a very general fear on the part of the citizens that the strikers would be thrown aside, as they had been at Pittsburgh, by the mob, and that Philadelphia might be the scene of a terrible outbreak. Such, indeed, would have been the case but for the admirable conduct of Mayor Stokley and his subordinates, and the gallantry of the police force.

Upon the receipt of the news of the fighting and conflagration at Pittsburgh, Mayor Stokley, who had established his head-quarters at the West Philadelphia depot, issued the following proclamation to the people of Philadelphia :

MAYOR'S OFFICE,
PHILADELPHIA, July 22d, 1877. }

• To all whom it may concern:

Whereas, Violence, tumult and riot exist in various portions of this Commonwealth, to the great injury of domestic industry and trade, and to the discredit of the fair name and fame of American institutions and her form of government, the perfection of which we last year celebrated in this the city of the Republic's birth; and,

Whereas, It is of the highest importance that the great name which Philadelphia has made for herself among the nations of the earth during the Centennial year shall be preserved, and that she shall be spared the horrible scenes enacted in our sister cities:

Now, therefore, I, William S. Stokley, in the name of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by law, do appeal to all citizens, of every occupation and calling, to render it unnecessary that, in the performance of my duty, I should be called upon to suppress outbreak and violence, which I assuredly will do if the occasion requires it, and hand over the offenders to condign punishment.

And I make this appeal in the firm belief that the citizens of Philadelphia appreciate, as I do, the importance of maintaining peace and good-will among all classes of society, and I hereby pledge myself to give a patient hearing, and to do impartial justice, as I best know how, to all persons who desire it. Let all the people resume and continue their lawful occupations, and avoid assembling and organizing together for discussion or otherwise at the present time. This is the surest and best means of preserving the honor and fair name of the City of Brotherly Love.

WILLIAM S. STOKLEY, Mayor.

The railroad officials and city authorities had kept a careful watch over the yards, and were not surprised when, at six o'clock on Sunday evening, the firemen and brakemen struck work, which action was the result of four secret meetings which had been held during the day in the neighborhood of Haverford road and Thirty-fifth street.

The action of the men was taken so quietly that it was not known to any persons outside of themselves and the authorities, and Colonel Scott met it in the same quiet way, ordering that no more freight trains should be sent out until morning. This removed any excitement from the vicinity of the main depot.

The police for a time prevented the people from

gathering in crowds close to the depot, and passengers for the cars were obliged to undergo a casual inspection; but in this as in all other respects, during the night the policemen acted with great discretion, keeping back only the rough element that was gathering to feast on expected horrors.

In the meantime a despatch was received from Governor Hartranft by Colonel Scott, stating that he had made a requisition by telegraph on the general government for troops.

Shortly after, the crowd again commenced to gather around the depot, the news of the action of the firemen and brakemen having by this time spread among them. One of the party, a young man, Michael Moore, commenced making a speech, claiming that he was a brakeman, but after he was arrested he turned out to be a stone-cutter.

Robert Jamieson, a boiler-maker, and Robert Harris, who had no occupation (both young men), were also placed under arrest. A large crowd followed them on their way to the Twenty-first District Police Station, at Darby road and Thirty-sixth street, and an attempt at rescue was made, but the officers drew their billies and cowed the mob.

The railroad authorities took the first opportunity to move an oil train which was standing near the depot to a place of safety, it being feared that if fire was set to it it would endanger the magnificent new depot of the company. A delegation of the strikers, who appeared to feel hurt at the insinuation that they would act in the same lawless manner as their brethren in Pittsburgh, called upon the railroad officials, and took occasion to state that they had no intention to open a

warfare of incendiaryism; and as they appeared determined to resist its movement, it was thought best to take them at their word, and allow the train to remain for the present. At half-past four o'clock that morning it was run out, under a guard of police, to a point near South street bridge.

Soon after, a body of a hundred trainmen proceeded up the road towards Mantua Station, cheering for "the Workingmen's Union" and "the Mollie Maguires." They boarded two incoming trains and notified the men of the situation, ordering them to quit work. The order was obeyed at once.

The Richmond express was detained half an hour when leaving the depot by a volley of stones being fired at it, and the cars being uncoupled. Stones were also hurled at the Cincinnati express, which came in shortly afterwards, but they made no attempt to stop it. A young man led the strikers, and they proceeded towards the New York junction, after which they separated, a large portion going to Mantua village, back of the Zoological Garden, but they deserted that vicinity about midnight.

"As long as there's a grocery store in the city we'll not starve," was the cry of the strikers.

About nine o'clock the police made an advance movement. They were under command of Captain Curry, assisted by Lieutenant Crout's reserves, and consisted of the men of the First, Third, and Seventeenth districts, under the command of their respective lieutenants.

The rioters, five hundred in number, were driven ahead, but when near the Callowhill street bridge they made a halt.



CALLOWHILL STREET BRIDGE—SCENE OF THE VICTORY OF THE PHILADELPHIA POLICE OVER THE MOB.

"We have no desire to have trouble with you," cried out Captain Curry, in a loud voice. [Jeers and laughter at this announcement.] "Clear the roadway," was the immediate order of the captain, and the police advanced in a solid body, forcing the rioters upon the hill on the west bank of the railroad. When they reached the top they hurled stones and other missiles at the police.

A hot and desperate contest then ensued for five minutes. The police moved in a solid mass, and their discipline told upon the rabble. The bluff was gained. But again the rioters rallied, and three pistol shots were fired. The police marked the men who shot, and levelled them with their clubs; then again moved with all the precision of regular troops upon the mob.

Captain Curry seized a revolver from the hands of one of the rioters, and settled him with a blow of the club. Discipline won the day. The rioters broke and run, followed by the police for the distance of a square, until they became completely demoralized.

At ten o'clock the tracks from the depot to Callowhill street bridge were in the quiet possession of the police, who numbered six hundred men, all under the immediate direction of Mayor Stokley and Chief Jones. They were divided as follows:

Lieutenant Crout's reserves were stationed at the south end of the Callowhill street bridge. First division, comprising officers from the First, Second, Seventeenth, Third, Nineteenth, Fifth, and Twenty-first districts, under the command of Captain Curry, were stationed at the western end of the Callowhill street bridge. The Nineteenth district officers were withdrawn from this point in the evening and stationed at the West Philadelphia depot to keep the crowd back.

Second division, comprising officers from the Fourth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Sixteenth and Twentieth districts, Captain Wood commanding, were placed at the southern end of Callowhill street bridge, on the railroad, within a short distance of where the rioters boarded the engines.

Third division, comprising officers from the Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Eighteenth, Fifteenth and Twenty-fourth districts were under Captain Heins' command, stationed at the eastern end of Callowhill street bridge, waiting for orders.

Fourth division, comprising officers from the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Twenty-second and Twenty-third districts, were on duty under Captain Godbou, at the West Philadelphia depot. One hundred and fifty men, under Captain Wood, were placed at various points, ready for any emergency.

The force was so placed that they attracted no special attention; but by means of signal lights they could be concentrated at any given point at any moment. At midnight all was peace, shortly previous to which the Mayor had received the following assuring despatch from the Federal government in response to Governor Hartranft's request:

WASHINGTON, July 22d.

To the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia:

Troops will be immediately placed in Philadelphia, under command of General Hancock, to meet every emergency, as the President will exert every constitutional power to restore order and protect property.

GEORGE W. McCRARY, *Secretary of War.*

The firmness and promptness of the police during

the night made the happiest impression upon the mob. It showed them that the officers of the law were fully a match for them, and would not hesitate to handle them roughly in case of necessity.

The police held the depot and yard at West Philadelphia during the night. But little rest was obtained by the men, as it was not known at what moment their services would be needed, and all were too much impressed with the gravity of the situation to think of sleeping. Mayor Stokley, with a true appreciation of the state of affairs, wisely resolved not to permit the assembling, at any threatened point, of a crowd which might at any moment be changed into a mob. The police were therefore ordered to break up all gatherings in the neighborhood of the depot. The men were armed with revolvers, and amply furnished with ammunition, and a supply of breech-loading rifles was held in readiness for use by them in case of need.

Colonel Scott also established his head-quarters in the depot building, in order to give his personal and immediate attention to such points as might require it.

Towards nine o'clock on Monday morning, the 23d of July, the crowd of idlers around the depot began to increase, and the greatest interest seemed to be manifested in the Mayor's proclamation, which had been posted up on all the doors and telegraph poles around. It was read and commented upon by some in terms of condemnation, by others in praise. In the crowds there assembled it was an easy matter to detect the professional idler, "waiting for something to turn up," willing to do anything, and almost spoiling for a fight. At such times as the crowd became too large or too demonstrative, they were politely requested by an

officer "Not to block up the passage way, please," and there was a general leaving for some other point. On the west side of the depot, where the arriving trains come in, small crowds assembled, looking suspiciously at each passenger as he came along. Inquiry among them shows that things up the road are quiet, no demonstration having been seen.

In the private office up-stairs, the officers of the company early assembled, but, owing to the cutting of the wires at Pittsburgh, it was impossible to get any news from the scene of the disturbance.

Colonel Scott had reconsidered his decision of Sunday night not to attempt to send out any freight trains, and on Monday morning gave orders to the despatchers to make ready. The crowds at the Callowhill street bridge began assembling very early in the day, and from the expressions and menaces of the mob it was plain that they intended to prevent the starting of the freight if they dared. By half-past nine o'clock there were fully five thousand people on the bridge and the western hills. Under the bridge were about fifty employés, sullen-looking and keeping by themselves. When asked to work they would say, "Yes, we will," but they would not stir from their seats. They were troublesome to the police and it took a large squad to watch them. Captain Wood could not get the despatchers to put them to work quick enough, so he waited until the chief came. The latter demanded of the despatcher that he pick out his men and the balance must leave. The despatcher did so, and then the chief formed his men in line and gave orders to have the tracks, hills and bridge cleared. The order was promptly executed. The railroad men were ugly and ill-natured,

and some of them, with the crowd, showed fight. At Glass' Hotel, corner of Thirty-first and Haverford, the mob made a stand and scoffed at the police, who had been very patient up to this time. About five hundred men, ready for a fight, stood on the bank above. Lieutenant Curry was ordering the bank to be cleared when the crowd became rebellious, attacking the police with stones. Just at that moment a squad of the Seventeenth district police, who had been nearer to the Callowhill street bridge, came along to the rear of the mob, and were treated to jeers and a volley of stones.

There seemed to be a disposition by the police not to make any arrests, and on the instant of receiving the word "Draw clubs, charge!" they gave a shout and rushed upon them. The effect was magical and at the same time ludicrous in its demoralizing effect upon the mob. The charge was magnificent. A tall fellow in the mob assumed a leadership; he shouted, "You daren't drive us off this bridge." Before the words were out of his mouth he was struck two stunning blows, one on each side of the head. He fell all in a heap, and the officers trampled upon him as they did upon others in their onslaught upon the flying horde. The crowd was mowed down like grass before the scythe, and the rioters were perfectly dumbfounded at the ease and quickness with which 200 determined men had wiped them out. None of them were seriously hurt, but many of them went home with broken heads and a lesson they did not forget. The tracks were kept clear during the rest of the day without much difficulty, but Colonel Scott announced that no further attempt to start freight trains would be made for the present.

Only one man was arrested for being implicated in the riot and he was not a railroad employé. His name is Charles Clark, aged thirty-four years, proprietor of an oyster saloon at Ridge avenue and Mount Vernon street. It was charged against Clark that he had been acting riotously along the road and interfering with the movement of the trains. Special Officer Bond, of the Eighth district, was detailed to arrest him, and at half-past one o'clock this morning, found him at his residence and brought him to the Central station.

The trains for New York and other points left as usual. The half-past seven train for New York consisted of six cars, all of which were well filled. At eight o'clock a train left for Pittsburgh and intermediate points, consisting of seven cars, which had a full supply of passengers, those going on it seemingly indifferent in regard to threatened dangers.

The police arrangements on Monday were the same as on the previous day, men being held in readiness to go out in the station houses in the vicinity of Thirty-ninth street and Lancaster avenue. A large force of men were held ready for any emergency, supplied with arms and ammunition. The Mayor's arrangements were perfected so that at less than an hour's notice a force of 1,800 armed men, who could be completely relied upon to do his bidding, could be summoned to the West Philadelphia depot or any other point where a mob might break loose.

About eleven o'clock the oil train which had been moved out of the depot yard to the vicinity of the South street bridge, was fired by the rioters. The train consisted of ten coal-oil cars, all filled with oil, six being iron tank cars and the rest wooden box cars

with the oil in barrels. There were also a number of coal cars, the whole making about as dangerous a mass of combustibles as could well be got together. Shortly before eleven o'clock a workman at the Almshouse saw six men jump from one of the cars and immediately afterward flames burst out. An alarm was at once given, but the incendiaries escaped. Eight or nine cars were destroyed and nine saved. One of the tanks exploded with a loud noise, throwing the burning liquid in all directions and badly injuring some of the firemen.

The burning of this train caused the greatest excitement in the city, as many feared it was but the beginning of the repetition of the terrible scenes of the previous day at Pittsburgh. On all sides a stern determination was expressed to sustain the authorities in any course they might decide upon, and to make short work of the rioters if it came to blows. Citizens in great numbers offered their services to the Mayor, and a similar offer was made by the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization consisting of 1,000 tried and true veterans of the civil war, a force in all respects equal to the same number of regulars.

At one o'clock General Hancock arrived at the West Philadelphia depot, bringing two hundred regular troops from Baltimore, being the same who were detailed at Baltimore from Fortress Monroe, Fort McHenry, and the stations in New York bay. The men were stationed along the bluff, where the police had made their gallant charge in the morning. General Hancock established his head-quarters at the St. George Hotel. Shortly after, the regulars were reinforced by 100 United States marines from Baltimore, who were

posted to command the approaches to the Callowhill street bridge. The arrival of the regulars and the offers of assistance to the Mayor made it certain that the city authorities would have force enough to sustain them, and put an end to the danger of a formidable outbreak. The mob, already cowed by the police, did not dare to attack the United States troops, whom they knew would not hesitate to put down any outbreak promptly and severely. During the day a number of arrests of rioters were made by the police.

By nightfall on the 23d, the danger was practically over in Philadelphia. Mayor Stokley from the first, while making every preparation to summon outside aid in case of necessity, placed his main dependence upon the police, who, to their honor be it said, constituted a force that could be relied upon. On the night of the 23d the force at his call was as follows:

Fourteen hundred armed policemen.

Four hundred armed firemen.

Eight hundred United States regulars, with batteries.

Remnant of the 1st Division, three hundred strong.

Two thousand special policemen.

The Veteran Corps, augmented to five hundred strong.

A regiment of one thousand emergency men.

In addition, the Mayor was authorized to raise his special police force to five thousand men, the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic held themselves in readiness for a call upon them; and at Paoli, twenty miles up the Pennsylvania road, about five hundred country militia from Chester and Montgomery counties were rendezvoused, who could be summoned at once, if necessary.

During the day great uneasiness was manifested on

the North Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia & Reading Railroads, but the men on those lines took no part in the strike.

On the 24th the force of regular troops in Philadelphia was increased by fresh arrivals to between seven and eight hundred men.

On the same day Mayor Stokley issued the following proclamation :

MAYOR'S OFFICE, }
PHILADELPHIA, PA., July 24th, 1877. }

To the Citizens of Philadelphia :

On Sunday last I issued to you my proclamation informing you that tumult and violence existed in various portions of this Commonwealth, and appealing to your patriotism and pride to uphold my hands in maintaining peace and quiet in this city. The noble manner in which you have responded to that appeal is now a matter of comment over the entire continent, and I constantly receive telegrams and letters to that effect; for while anarchy and bloodshed have affected many of our sister cities, Philadelphia, the home of the mechanic, has put herself squarely upon the side of law and order, and has maintained her fair fame and name. The result is no more than I expected. Ours is the great manufacturing centre of the republic. Our people are engaged in industrial pursuits. Their earnings are invested in their dwelling houses. If rioters should be permitted to obtain an hour's control the humblest would suffer with the wealthiest. The householders would be compelled to repair the damage from their hard-earned wages. The people of Pittsburgh are now brought face to face with this stern reality, and are deeply regretting that they did not start firmly and combine together to maintain the public peace. Let us profit by their terrible and sad experience. I call upon you to sustain my police officers in their present arduous and fatiguing duties, and to mould

such a healthy sentiment among all classes of society as shall entitle us to be called the City of Brotherly Love.

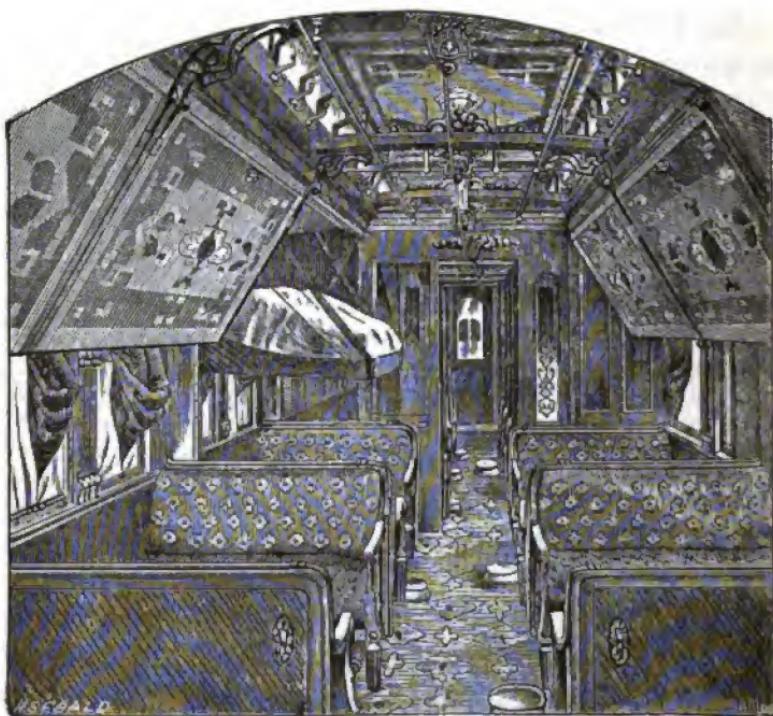
I thank you for the organizations which have tendered me their services, and thus enabled me to largely augment my force. These commands I will retain in the public service for the present.

W. S. STOKLEY, *Mayor.*

On the 24th the railroad officials resolved to send out freight trains from West Philadelphia to Jersey City, over the New York division of the road. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the afternoon three freight trains were made up and preparations made to move them. A crowd of fifty or sixty railroad employés gathered about the engines and said they should not leave the round house. Several railroad officials at once hurried to the spot, and remonstrated with the men, assuring them that the trains would be sent out, and any resistance on their part forcibly put down. The strikers then withdrew sullenly. The trains were despatched from West Philadelphia during the afternoon, and reached their destination in safety. This movement was an important one, and went far to demoralize the strikers, as it showed them that they were unable to execute their threat to stop the trains.

The Mayor had requested that no meetings of citizens should be held in Philadelphia to discuss the state of affairs. The communistic character of the outbreak was so plain that he was resolved that all meetings which might add to the danger should be suppressed. In spite of his warning, however, a meeting ostensibly of laboring men, but really of a dangerous class of agitators, was called for the night of the 24th. Warning

was given that this meeting would be broken up by the police, but in spite of this, it was held. The meeting took place at Kelly's Hall, at Eighth and Christian streets. In obedience to the orders of the Mayor, Lieutenant Schooley, of the Seventeenth district, appeared on the scene with a force of policemen, and came up to the front of the hall just as an agitator,



GOVERNOR HARTRANFT'S HEAD-QUARTERS CAR.

standing on a barrel, shouted: "I defy the Mayor and his force, and if there is a policeman within the hearing of my voice, I defy him to interfere with us." The lieutenant gave the word "forward," and the officers with drawn clubs dispersed that crowd in a twinkling. Then the crowd gathered at another point, uttering

threats, and were charged upon and fled. A third time they massed, and a third time they gave way to the big band of clubs, and then thinking discretion the better part, they slunk into byways or went home.

On the 24th of July, Governor Hartranft, who had been hurrying homeward from Salt Lake City by special train, reached Pittsburgh. Stopping there for a few hours to master the situation, he continued his journey eastward to Philadelphia. Before leaving Pittsburgh he issued the following proclamation :

PITTSBURGH, July 25th, 1877.

To the People of the State of Pennsylvania:

Whereas, There exists a condition of turbulence and disorder within the State extending to many interests and threatening all communities, under the impulse of which there has grown up a spirit of lawlessness requiring that all law-observing citizens shall organize themselves into armed bodies for the purpose of self-protection and preserving the peace :

Therefore I, John F. Hartranft, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, do hereby recommend that all citizens shall organize themselves into associations, with such arms as they can procure, for the purpose of maintaining order and suppressing violence, and all good citizens are warned against appearing in company with any mob or riotous assembly, and thus giving encouragement to violation of the law.

J. F. HARTRANFT, *Governor.*

Hastening onward, the Governor reached Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 25th. Immediately upon arriving at Philadelphia, Governor Hartranft held a consultation with the officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Mayor and General Hancock. It was his determination to collect as large a force of State and regular troops

as could be gotten together, and to proceed with these along the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad and open it for traffic at once, putting down by force any resistance that might be attempted. Orders were issued by telegraph for the militia of the State to assemble at Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh and other points, and every effort was made to enable the Governor to move westward at the earliest possible moment. On the 26th the Governor issued the following order to the troops:

HEAD-QUARTERS OF NATIONAL GUARD OF PENNSYLVANIA,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, PHILADELPHIA,
July 26th, 1877.

General Orders No. 2.

First, During the existing emergency in all cases troops are to be moved in compact bodies, and under no circumstances is firing to be permitted except by order of the officer in immediate command.

Second, All other means of quelling riot and restoring order having first been exhausted, the officer commanding the troops shall notify the rioters that they will be fired upon unless they promptly disperse. The order to fire will then be deliberately given, and every soldier will be expected to fire with effect. The firing will continue until the mob disappears.

Third, Officers in command of troops will report to these head-quarters the names of all citizens who have attempted or may attempt to dissuade members of the National Guard from the discharge of their duties. All such persons should be arrested if possible.

Fourth, Head-quarters after two o'clock P. M. to-day will be in special car on Pennsylvania Railroad. All communications will be addressed accordingly.

Fifth, General officers will publish these orders, not only to their troops, but to the public generally.

J. F. HARTRANFT,
Commander-in-Chief N. G. Pa.

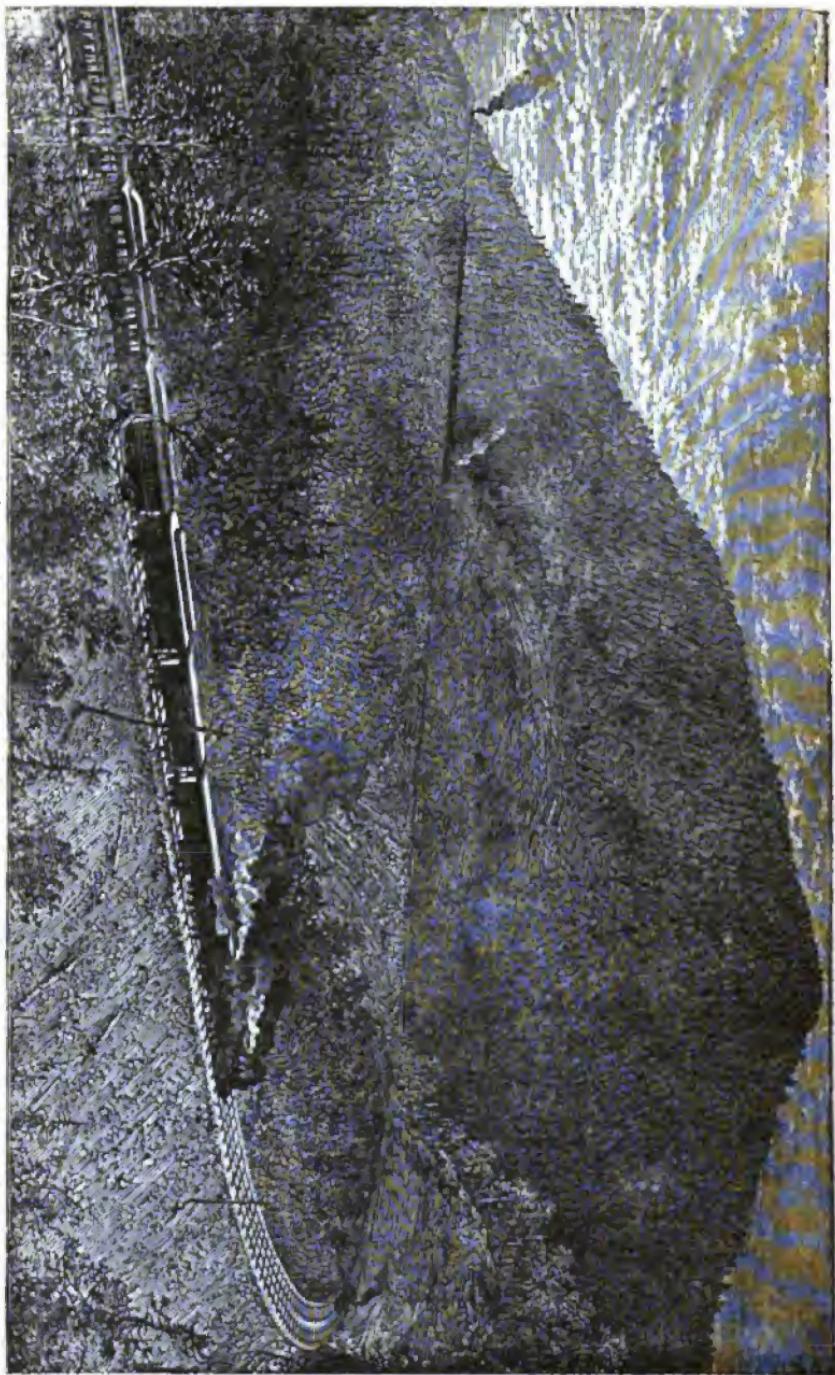
On the afternoon of the 26th, a sufficient force of militia having assembled at the West Philadelphia depot, Governor Hartranft set out for the West, with the troops in two special trains. He was followed shortly after by another train bearing a force of several hundred regular troops, with artillery. At the same time orders were sent to Harrisburg to despatch a regiment of State militia to Rockville and Dauphin, above that city, to guard the railroad bridges over the Susquehanna.

No resistance to the passage of the troops was made at Columbia. The strikers had gotten into a quieter frame of mind by this time, and had decided to obey the laws. The trains with the State militia, who numbered about 600 men, reached Harrisburg on the night of the 26th. A large supply of ammunition and additional troops were taken on board, and the trains moved forward again. The Governor's head-quarters were in a Pullman car attached to one of the trains.

At Altoona the mob was still in possession when the troops arrived. A regiment was promptly disembarked and marched to the depot yard. The strikers looked on with sullen discontent, but the commanding officer of the troops ordered them out of the railroad yards. The military then took possession of the round house and the shops, and preparations were made to run the troop trains over the mountains. In order to put down any further outbreak, General Beaver was left at Altoona with the 5th and 12th Regiments, about 500 strong. The strikers attempted no violence, and made no effort to interfere with the arrangements of the military.

From Altoona the advance was continued over the mountains, the trains starting about half-past ten on the morning of the 27th.

TRAINS BEARING GOVERNOR HARTRANFT AND TROOPS PASSING OVER THE HORSE SHOE CURVE,
PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.



Orders were sent to Blairsville Intersection, where the First Division under General Brinton had been encamped since the 24th, to break camp and be in readiness to move upon Pittsburgh upon the arrival of the Governor and the trains accompanying him. Camp was broken by the First Division on the afternoon of the 27th, and the troops at once marched to the railroad. At the depot they were joined by the 13th Regiment and other portions of General Harry White's Division, numbering about 500 men.

There was a long delay at the depot, waiting for the arrival of Governor Hartranft, who was coming up the mountain from Altoona slowly because the strikers had stolen an engine and ran off ahead of his train, and he had to throw out walking skirmishers to see that they did not tear up the tracks. General Brinton had considerable difficulty in finding railroad men enough to man his train. In an hour or so a sufficient number were secured. These were strikers, and refused to go on the troop train, stating that they might be shot if they did. Captain Ryan, of the Philadelphia State Fencibles, who had been detailed to hunt up the train hands, sternly told them that they had no choice in the matter; that the trains must go to Pittsburgh, and they must man them; and that he had orders to shoot any train man who refused to work, and would obey his orders on the instant. The strikers thereupon consented to run the trains. A guard of about half a dozen soldiers was placed with each engineer to prevent him escaping until the train should move. After several hours scouring of the country enough unwilling railroaders were obtained to man four trains, and all were informed that their refusal to take out the trains or

any attempt to escape would be at the peril of their lives.

Governor Hartranft arrived at the intersection about half-past six in the evening, and his appearance was the signal for an immense cheer from the soldiers all along the line. At half-past eight the first train started for Pittsburgh, two soldiers being placed in each cab and five on each tender to watch the engineer and firemen, as well as to protect them from strikers along the line. They had orders to shoot down any engineer, fireman, or brakeman who failed in his duty.

The military left Blairsville in the following order: First train, of twenty-four cars and two engines, with a flat car in front of the two engines, having on board two pieces of the Keystone Battery and one Gatling gun. The State Fencibles were divided into two squads of twenty-four men each. The second train consisted of eighteen cars, three of which were stock cars filled with horses for the cavalry company. The third train had sixteen cars; three of which were filled with Griffin's Battery, from Chester county, thirty-one of the City Troop, of Philadelphia, and reinforcements for the First Division. In the fourth train—five cars—was General Gallagher's division. In all there were fully 3,000 men on the four trains.

After leaving Blairsville the trains ran very slowly, as they feared obstructions on the track. Some ten or fifteen suspicious persons were arrested by Captain Ryan's company, who, as soon as they saw a man on or near the track, would stop the train, arrest him, and hold him until General Brinton could examine him. Five of those arrested were taken off an engine they had stolen and were going east to see what the troops

were doing and report to their comrades. Each bridge was examined before the train crossed, and as it approached deep cuts or curves the train was slackened up, and very often the State Fencibles were deployed up the track as skirmishers. Not a light was to be seen on the whole train but those around the engines. The trains laid at Walls about two hours and at Brinton two hours, and then went on to Pittsburgh, arriving there at seven o'clock on the morning of the 28th.

No opposition was offered by the strikers to the entrance of the troops. They were received cordially by the citizens, and took quiet possession of the railroad property. General Brinton's hard experience of the previous Saturday night and Sunday by common consent among the military entitled him to a prestige of position on the "field of war." On his arrival with his newly-increased force of Philadelphians he marched at once down to Twenty-eighth street, through the gate and up the road into the West Penn Hospital grounds, immediately overlooking the crossing and burnt round houses, where they pitched their tents. The first thing the men did after going into camp was to flock down the hill and visit the scene of their Saturday night's experience. They were full of narrative, and could have entertained hungry curiosity seekers all day with accounts of their several experiences if they had been so minded. There were about 1,100 men now under General Brinton.

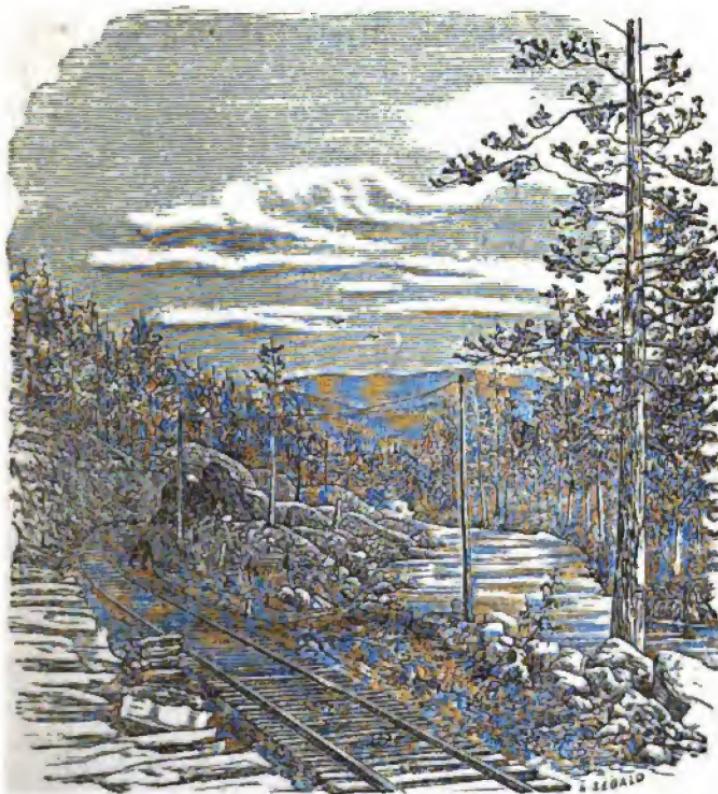
Governor Hartranft's car was stopped on a side track at Lawrenceville station, or Thirty-third street. There is a broad flat there extending down Thirty-third street, and here the divisions under General Dobson, General Harry White, General Gallagher, and General George

Smith went into camp. These divisions comprise the militia of the counties of Armstrong, Indiana, Butler, Westmoreland, Chester, Lancaster, Delaware, and others.

Along with the Chester county men were the Washington troops, mounted cavalry, numbering forty-two men. They were left at East Liberty, where, later in the day, they were joined by General Harry White's division. This distributed the troops at the three principal points, East Liberty, Thirty-third street, and Twenty-eighth street. The largest force was at Twenty-eighth street with the Governor.

The regular troops, under Colonel Hamilton, followed the State forces in two trains, and at some little distance behind them. They numbered about 700 men, splendidly armed and equipped and plentifully supplied with ammunition. They met with no opposition until Johnstown was reached. As the second train passed the depot at that place it was attacked by a great mob armed with stones and pieces of metal, which were thrown at the windows of the cars with telling effect. Volley after volley was poured into the train, crushing the windows and injuring a number of the soldiers. As the train moved on several different attacks were made, the last and most serious being after the train had passed beyond the depot some distance. At this point the patience of the commanding officer, Colonel Hamilton, gave way, and reaching up he pulled the bell-rope to stop the train; the engineer and fireman were under a strong guard of soldiers, and they at once reversed the engine. In all probability this saved the lives of half the persons on board the train, as a switch had been misplaced, and a car heavily laden with fire-

brick placed on the switch for fast-approaching trains to run into and be thrown over the embankment. When the train struck the switch its speed had been greatly slackened, the engine, tender, and five cars—two baggage and three passenger—left the track and



SCENE ON THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD NEAR JOHNSTOWN.

came in contact with the car of brick with such force that the rails and ties were torn up, the five cars piled up in a mass of ruins, the bottom of one car resting on the roof of another, and three were thrown completely around and lay crosswise on the track, with the car of brick, crushed and splintered, topping all. Colonel

Hamilton, of the 1st United States Artillery, was severely injured in the side, and several soldiers were badly bruised by the concussion. The soldiers of the wrecked train remained at the siding until four o'clock in the morning of the 28th. The mob, thinking the regulars would not molest them, became more demonstrative and violent, and attacked the uninjured train. Colonel Hamilton quietly threw out a picket line around the mob, and succeeded in arresting about fifty of the rioters, who were placed on board the train. After a considerable delay another train was procured, and the troops resumed their journey to Pittsburgh, where they arrived on the morning of the 29th. The prisoners were turned over to the State authorities, and the regulars marched to the arsenal, where they were quartered. The prisoners arrested at Johnstown were examined as to their complicity in the attack upon the troops, but swore roundly that they had no hand in it. With the exception of fourteen of the worst characters, who were held on general principles, they were dismissed on taking an oath not to engage in any further violence, and were sent back to Johnstown.

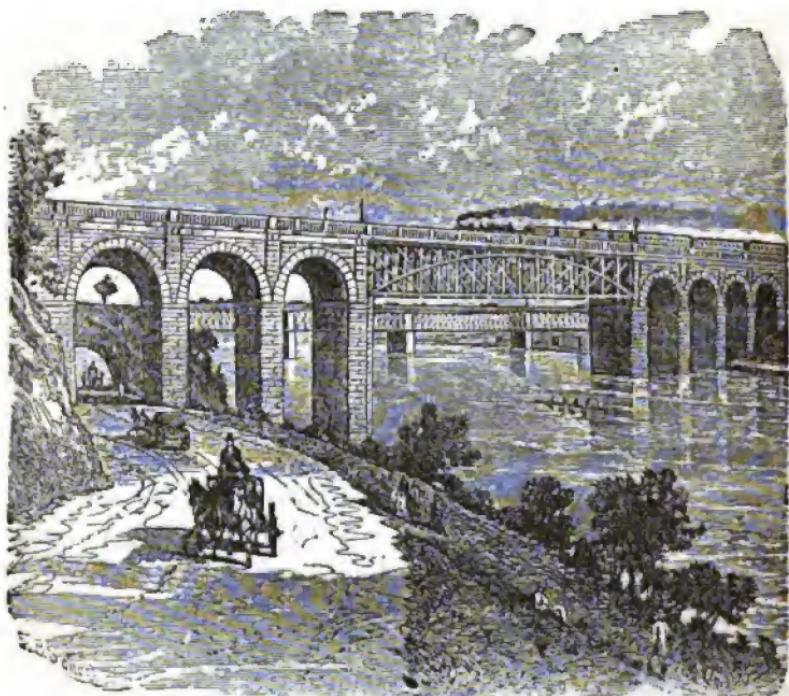
During the day a committee of six members of the Trainmen's Union visited Governor Hartranft at his head-quarters on the railroad. They were kindly received by the Governor, and informed him that they represented what was popularly known as the strikers, but disavowed all responsibility for the destruction of the railroad property, and said that this had been done by tramps and ruffians, who had taken advantage of the strike to pillage. Their chairman and spokesman was a well-educated man by the name of McMunn, who was recognized by several of the staff officers of the

Governor as a captain in the Ninth Pennsylvania Reserves and a good soldier during the war. He had been a conductor on a freight train, but had been discharged. He was an excellent talker and briefly but decisively told the Governor that the committee had understood that he had come among them with the soldiers as a sort of arbiter between the railroad workmen and the officials of the company, and that he could treat with them. If this was so they had written propositions to make. The Governor here stopped them, saying that they had been misinformed or had mistaken his purpose in coming to Pittsburgh. He was there, not in charge of a railroad, but solely to protect it. It was his business, as Governor, to see to the execution of the laws and to preserve the peace, and he had nothing to say on the subject of the grievances between the employers and the employed, but that he intended to preserve the peace at all hazards.

Attorney-General Lear then spoke up and laid down the law to the committee with his usual sledge-hammer force. He told them that even if they did not apply the torch and attack the soldiers they were in a large measure responsible for it, having given the occasion for the gathering together of such large mobs. As to the causes of the strike, General Lear said that if the men didn't like the terms that were offered by the company for their services they had a right to retire, and that ended the matter between them and the company. If the company could find other employés to do the work on their terms, they had a right to employ them, and any interference by those who did not agree to their terms was illegal and punishable in a criminal court. He went on at some length to reason with

them, laying down the law much in the same way that a judge does to a jury. They listened patiently and discussed the matter in private after the official meeting was broken up.

McMunn and several of the others were found to be very resolute men, and it was by no means certain that



PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD BRIDGE, FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA.

they went away convinced by the Attorney-General's law. McMunn said that he took no part in the fracas with the troops, but that he was passing by at the time with a lady, and that she was shot in the foot. One of the staff of General Brinton, however, who was present, recognized the man as one of the most active

of the ringleaders in the riot of that day, being conspicuous in cheering them on and seeming to be a master spirit.

The Pennsylvania Railroad throughout its entire length was now in the hands of the State forces and the regular troops. Governor Hartranft's intention was now to cross the river to Allegheny City and take possession of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad, but his design was forestalled by the unconditional surrender of the strikers, who gave up the property of the company and in many cases returned to work. The company at once took possession of its yards, trains, and shops, and prepared to resume operations.

On the morning of the 30th of July, Vice-President Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania road, thus summed up the state of affairs at Pittsburgh :

The company has fully resumed all its business and has fairly gotten down to regular work. The men are all coming in promptly, even eagerly, and signing the papers requesting the company to put them to work. To show you the changed condition of affairs, an incident which occurred this morning may be related. Last Friday week, when the strike began here, a committee of five strikers waited on Mr. Pitcairn and myself, and insolently demanded that the company return to the old wages, the double-headers all to be discontinued and all the strikers taken back without questions, conditions which, of course, were not even considered by us. Now, this morning two of this very committee sent into us, and we supposed they had come to renew their offers in a less arrogant form, but they appeared and humbly asked whether they would be permitted to go to work. They were simply referred to the despatcher's office to report. The Fort

Wayne men are coming in rapidly and we are receiving and transmitting freight over that road at this end. The Indiana portion of the road is still clogged, the Governor having refused the company the assistance of the troops, referring the matter to the civil authorities, who are acting promptly and with effect, but as both ends of the line are at work this stoppage will be of very short duration. You can say generally, therefore, that there is absolutely no strike on any of the 5,000 miles of road controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The men have come back without any conditions; they simply have resumed. How to deal with those who have been prominent in the strike will be considered duly to-day. No troops whatever have been used on the trains, and an immense quantity of freight and live-stock has been removed. As to re-building our works here we begin to-morrow putting up on the foundation of the old Union depot a temporary two-story brick station, with all its necessary rooms for the work of the company and the convenience of the passengers. This will be finished in thirty days. We decided this morning that the project of removing the Centennial building here should be abandoned, as it was too flimsy to transport.

The correspondent of the *Philadelphia Times* wrote from Pittsburgh on the 30th as follows:

Now as to the poor strikers. I saw McMunn to-night. He is the leader of the Pittsburgh men. He admits that all is over, and he doesn't see what else the men can do but "sign," but already he is so far weakened as to whine about his services to the company in saving property which was in the act of being destroyed. He does not hope to get re-employment, but will seek other avenues of securing bread, a necessity which he says he was unable to make in his old employment as a flagman, reduced from a freight-train conductor. The old engineers claim that they were

forced to join the strike, and are only too glad to get back. I saw them at the despatcher's office this afternoon, where they were to report according to Pitcairn's proclamation. They flocked in there like tax-payers at the tax office on the last day before penalties begin to run, each man to put his name down on a paper headed simply, "List of loyal men now ready to go to work." Hundreds of train men and engineers had signed during the day.

The following scene was frequently repeated : Enter young fellow, a train man, brakeman, or may be engineer. He says nothing, but walks up and looks over the long list of names and sees some of them marked with a cross. "What does that black mark mean?" he asks nervously. "That is to indicate that the man is an engineer." "Oh," comes a sigh of relief, his eye runs over the list rapidly, and finally he says, sullenly, "By God, they are all there. Well, put my name down, too," and half a dozen who are waiting outside sidle in and echo him, "Put my name, too."

On the 29th General Hancock telegraphed the government as follows, from Philadelphia :

PHILADELPHIA, July 28th, 12.20 P. M.

To the Adjutant-General, United States Army:

Governor Hartranft and Colonel Hamilton, of the 1st United States Artillery, are at Pittsburgh. Colonel Hamilton has about fifty prisoners, rioters taken from Johnstown. They have been reported to the Governor, who has taken possession of them and has directed the attorney-general of the State to prosecute them immediately. The quiet occupation of Pittsburgh and opening of the Pennsylvania Railroad, I think, settles the question of order in this division, and the only trouble that seems to remain is that connected with the miners in certain points in the coal district, such as Scranton.

Possibly that may require similar treatment as that of the railroad.

W. S. HANCOCK, *Major-General commanding.*

On the 30th the following official announcement was made by the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad :

The Pennsylvania Railroad and its branches are open for freight as well as passengers from Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, to points as far as Altoona on their main line, to Kane on the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad, to Buffalo via the Emporium route, and to Elmira and Canandaigua on the Northern Central Railroad. This territory comprises the Clearfield and Broad Top bituminous coal region, and the anthracite region tributary to the Northern Central road. They expect to have their main line open to Pittsburgh, and the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad to Erie, to-morrow, and their lines west of Pittsburgh on Monday. Their men are rapidly recognizing the situation and the fact that the interests of the company and their own are identical.

On the 30th of July the close of the strike on the lines of the Pennsylvania Company was announced in the following despatch from Pittsburgh :

Everything is quiet and the strike is, to all appearances, ended. On the Pittsburgh division of the Baltimore & Ohio road the freights east and west are now arriving and departing on schedule time, and all the freight offices are open. All the passenger trains are also arriving and departing on time. Several extra trains for the east have been placed on the road, including fast fruit trains for the accommodation of shippers. On the Pennsylvania road stock trains are being moved as rapidly as they can be gotten in readiness, and the trains which have been delayed along the

line are arriving. The first three trains sent out on this road were under military guard, but no trouble having occurred, the trains are now running without guards. The company is not receiving freight for shipment yet, but this is owing to the fact that the tracks over the burnt district are not yet completed, and will thus delay local freights a day or two.

On the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago road the efforts are mainly directed to the clearing of the tracks of rolling stock, which is strewn along the line of the road for fifteen miles beyond the city, and having the city freights delivered.

All the workmen in the shops on this road resumed work this morning.

On both the Pennsylvania and Fort Wayne roads the officers have informed the engineers and firemen that they can have their old engines if they report for duty at once.

The Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad men have returned to duty and that line is now fully open. The Western Division of the Pittsburgh & Erie Railroad has also resumed.

On the Allegheny Valley road the passenger trains are arriving and departing on time, and it is expected that freights will be started to-day.

The Pan Handle route is running trains as usual.

The home military are still under arms, and the forces under Governor Hartranft maintain their positions at Twenty-eighth street. The United States troops are encamped on the arsenal grounds, and are comfortably situated in every respect. Arrests of persons charged with being engaged in the riot of Sunday of last week are constantly being made by the mayor's police.

A despatch from Columbus, Ohio, says that the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis Railway officials announce that they will receive freight from shippers to all points.

CHAPTER V.

THE READING RIOTS.

The Strike at Reading—Burning of the Lebanon Valley Bridge by the Strikers—Rioters at Reading Stop the Trains—High-Handed Acts of Violence—Arrival of Troops at Reading—The Rioters Attack the Military—The Soldiers Fire Upon the Mob—A Terrible Volley—Excitement at Reading—Action of the City Authorities—Capture of Arms—Arrival of the 18th, Regiment—The Soldiers Fraternize with the Rioters—Danger of a Conflict Between the Troops—The Military Sent Away from Reading—Arrival of the Regulars—Arrest of Rioters—Character of the Rioters—A Reporter's Adventure—Verdict of the Coroner's Jury—Justice to the Troops.

THE Pennsylvania Railroad was not the only sufferer from the strike in Pennsylvania. The roads extending through the coal regions soon became involved in it.

The first outbreak in this section of the State occurred on the night of the 22d of July. The militia had begun to assemble in obedience to the orders of the Governor, and some companies had started for Harrisburg, at which place they were ordered to report. To prevent them from reaching their destination a party of rioters, on the night of the 22d, set fire to the Lebanon Valley Railroad bridge over the Schuylkill at Reading. The bridge was entirely consumed and the direct communication between Reading and Harrisburg broken. The loss to the Reading Railroad Company by the destruction of this bridge was \$150,000.

On the 23d there was great excitement at Reading, and during the day the city was in a state of riot and disorder. The railroad men formed but a part of the

disorderly throngs ; the greater part of these crowds consisted of loafers, disreputable characters and tramps.

About half-past four o'clock in the afternoon the rioters seized a passing loaded coal train, put on the brakes, stopped the train, and pushed back the caboose and several loaded cars, thus virtually blockading the down track. One of the eight ton cars was dumped on the rails. A little later the down express train came along slowly on the other track, and the rioters resolved to stop it. They were led by a large man, wearing a dark shirt and dark pants, whose hair was cut so close as to present the appearance of having been shaved. Fully 200 men would rush up to the advancing locomotive, and by threats and signs endeavor to induce the engineer to stop it. The train moved along slowly, however, and reached the depot. Later still, an up freight train was compelled to go back and the train men forced to abandon their posts. The up express train soon came along at full speed, and was driven by the engineer through the insuriated crowd at full speed. Several other trains were stopped, and the rioters declared their intention not to allow either freight or passenger trains to pass through Reading. The tracks were torn up in a number of places, and barricaded in others.

General Manager Wootten, of the Reading Railroad, as early as half-past nine o'clock on Monday morning, appealed to the sheriff to call out his posse to protect the railroad and the company's property. This the sheriff declined to do. Little or nothing was done by the city authorities to check the disorder, and during the day the rioters had their own way.

About nightfall a detachment of the 4th Regiment

from Allentown arrived at Reading. The tracks being torn up, the soldiers were obliged to leave the cars and march to the depot. The main line of the Philadelphia & Reading road passes through Reading on Seventh street. Penn street is the main highway, running in an opposite direction from, and crossing Seventh street at right angles. From Penn street northward, for two squares, two lines of track are laid leading to the new depot. These are laid through a deep cut with a heavy stone wall twenty feet high on each side. From the moment of leaving the cars, the troops had been threatened by a furious mob. General Reeder, the officer in command, in view of the threatening demonstrations of the mob, decided that it would be better to march to the depot through the deep cut, the steep sides of which would afford better protection to his flanks than could be had in the open street. He therefore directed his march towards the cut, but the soldiers had scarcely entered it before they were greeted with a terrible volley of stones from the sides of the cut, where the greatest crowds had assembled. The *Reading Times and Dispatch*, a day or two later, said :

"An examination of the railroad 'cut' from Walnut street to near Penn, yesterday, showed that several car-loads of bricks and stones had been thrown into the 'cut' from the adjoining sidewalks, commencing at the Walnut street bridge, near which point a large stone had been hurled out of a second-story window. The majority of those throwing bricks and stones were boys, and even some women were engaged in the same work. A woman having an apron full of stones was observed on the Court street bridge throwing stones on the military vigorously."

Pistol shots were also fired at the troops. Upon reaching Penn street the regiment was attacked by another mob and lost patience. One of the men, without orders, discharged his piece, and immediately the regiment fired a volley into the mob. By this discharge ten persons were killed and forty wounded. Many of these were innocent bystanders, as is generally the case. The mob scattered and fled in terror, and the troops marched into the depot, in which they took up their quarters. Guards were stationed about the building, and citizens were not permitted to enter it.

The firing upon the mob by the 4th Regiment produced the greatest excitement in Reading, and the death and injury of so large a number of innocent persons intensified this feeling. The troops were severely denounced by the citizens, many of whom joined the mob, and were loud in their threats of vengeance, committing in their unreasoning anger the mistake for which the people of Pittsburgh paid so terribly. Still, as it was necessary to take prompt measures to check the mob, the city authorities, who were joined by a detachment of armed citizens and a number of the Reading Railroad Coal and Iron Police, commenced on the 24th to assert the authority of the law, and to put down the outbreak. It was known that at the request of Governor Hartranft, General Hancock had despatched a force of regular troops to Reading, and that these would arrive some time during the day. The great effort of the authorities was therefore to preserve order until the regulars could reach Reading.

During the afternoon the police officials were informed where the strikers had stored a portion of their

ammunition, and Chief of Police Cullen, with a small detail of officers, proceeded to an unfrequented basement in a quiet part of the city, forced an entrance, and succeeded in capturing two large boxes of old-fashioned muskets that the strikers had procured from the relics of an old military company. The young man who had informed the police of the whereabouts of the muskets narrowly escaped death at the hands of an infuriated mob. The strikers admitted that they had plenty of arms, and the officials were ready to believe the boast.

The muskets were conveyed to the Central Police station and locked in a cell. The strikers threatened to storm the City Hall in order to recover the arms, but this threat they failed to put into execution. Until four o'clock in the afternoon the militia garrisoned the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company's depot. The entrances and exits, train galleries and surroundings were strictly guarded. Soldiers with muskets and bayonets stood at every door, and no person was allowed to enter the building unless passed in by a company detective. Everything was under the closest surveillance.

It was decided by the authorities, in consideration of the threats of the mob against the troops who had taken part in the firing of the previous night, to send them away from Reading, as the best means of avoiding further trouble. It was hoped that their places could be filled by several companies of the 16th Regiment from Conshohocken and Norristown, which reached Reading about ten o'clock on Tuesday morning. These troops left the cars about five miles below Reading, and marched into the city, taking up their

quarters at the depot, where they joined the 4th Regiment.

These new soldiers, having heard of the killing of the ten citizens, conferred with the representatives of the strikers, and it was not long before many of the Conshohocken military freely expressed themselves as being ready and willing to throw down their arms or give them to the rioters. One soldier remarked, "We are workingmen and we don't fight against working-men. We want bread at home, but we don't want to rob our fellow-workingmen for it. No, sir; we came up here to protect property, but not to murder the poor men of Reading."

Shortly after this many of these soldiers, arm-in-arm with the railroaders, were going about the back streets in a jolly state of intoxication. As they staggered along they made many threats of violence, and the citizens became intensely alarmed at the situation. People coming in from the country reported several of the roads lined with soldiers, without their guns, walking home, in the absence of suitable railroad transportation. In other words, they were deserting. All these things helped to fan the flame of prejudice and excitement against the military that first arrived and that fired into the crowd.

By half-past three o'clock in the afternoon the rioters had won over so many of the Conshohocken troops, and these were so open in their expressions of hostility to the 4th Regiment and of sympathy with the mob, that there was danger of a conflict between the two divisions of troops. To avert this danger, the authorities determined to send both divisions out of the city at once. Accordingly, at four o'clock, they vacated



THE SIXTEENTH REGIMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA MILITIA SURRENDERING THEIR ARMS TO THE MOB AT READING, PA.

their quarters at the depot, and marched out of Reading by different routes to their homes. Reading was now entirely dependent upon the efforts of the local authorities.

About nightfall a force of about 300 regular troops,



PALACE CAR USED AS HEAD-QUARTERS BY THE UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICERS.

with four pieces of artillery, who had been disembarked on the outskirts of the city, marched into Reading. Four companies proceeded to the depot, where they were quartered, and a battery of artillery occupied a commanding eminence on the southern section of

the city and went into camp. The mob looked on in silence, not daring to utter a word of insult.

On the 25th, the authorities feeling strong enough, determined to begin the work of repairing the railroad tracks and arresting the leaders of the riot. The police officials were astir at early dawn, and a platoon of thirty men, each of them armed with a Spencer rifle, accompanied them. This detachment formed a guard for at least a thousand men who were early at work in repairing the tracks torn up by the mob. This was successfully accomplished, and by ten o'clock all through trains from tidewater to the coal fields were running without molestation.

Before twelve o'clock information was sworn to before Alderman Wengel, implicating about one hundred and fifty men as being concerned in acts of incendiarism, intimidation and riot. Arrests were steadily being made, and as fast as the officials brought their prisoners in they were either taken to jail at once or admitted to bail. But one of the accused was able to furnish security. It was generally conceded that some one well informed as to the plans and personality of the rioters had given the information upon which these arrests were made.

The prisoners were pale, nervous and trembling when brought to the station. They were arrested in various saloons and on street corners, and in other haunts of disreputable people. They were placed in a closely covered van and hurried off to jail in default of bail, followed by a large crowd. These arrests were made very quietly, for the purpose of maintaining peace and order, and preventing excitement.

Several reputable and well-to-do citizens were arrested

during the next few days on charges of being engaged in the riot, and were required to give bail for their appearance at court.

"It is believed," said a letter from Reading, written on the 25th, "that many of the ringleaders of the strikers who operated here were procured for that special purpose from distant points. The same plans and methods are in use in Pennsylvania and in the neighboring States. Those men who boldly burned the bridge, cars, cabooses, tore up the tracks and drove the crews from the trains, were to a great extent strangers in this community, and moreover, those who brought them here or imported them to do foul work anywhere are thoroughly and systematically organized. Men from one section will visit other places to wreck and ruin, and *vice versa*. The Mollie Maguires did their bloody deeds in the same way.

"The visiting wreckers and rioters are piloted to various points by home men under cover of the night. In this section this has been conclusively shown. A reporter of a home newspaper distinctly says that on the night of the burning of the big bridge, the cars and the destruction of tracks, as he was passing out on the railroad in search of information he saw three men piling sills and iron bars on the tracks to wreck an incoming passenger train. As the reporter, with a friend, advanced, the three men came forward and surveyed them from top to toe. The wreckers were determined-looking, stalwart and dirt-begrimed men. They were non-residents of the city and were about shoving the reporter back when a voice was heard: 'Let that man pass on! He's a reporter.' This was said by a party standing in the shadows of a high bank. It was his

desire to keep out of sight. He was the pilot for the three strangers, and was superintending the work at the same time. The reporter passed on, and the three wretches coolly resumed the work of barricading the tracks. This is an illustration of how the process of train-wrecking is carried on. The best-informed citizens here told the *Herald* representative that the ring-leaders were strangers, particularly those who acted during daylight. Those to be arrested are the principals. The faces that were seen here Sunday night, Monday and yesterday have departed, and it is beyond question that they have gone to Allentown, the eastern terminus of the Reading Railroad, East Pennsylvania branch, and are participating in the riotous proceedings at that point. A number of Reading men are with them. Of one hundred warrants issued the majority are for parties living here. Before midnight probably twenty-five or thirty will have been arrested. It will be one of the principal efforts of the officials to gain additional and necessary information which will lead to the capture of every conspirator, incendiary rioter and disturber of the public peace operating in this State. Not all the crime is perpetrated by strangers alone, nor have all the strangers left our midst. At noon to-day the Reading Railroad Company narrowly escaped a disastrous fire.

"A few minutes after twelve o'clock a number of the employés at the Reading Forge, a very large establishment in this city, witnessed smoke issuing from the timber of the platform at the southern end of the building, near the railroad. The men quickly examined the location and found a large quantity of cotton waste saturated with oil burning under the timber;

where it had been placed by some parties with the evident intention of destroying the works while the employés were at dinner. Had the fire gained the least headway the very extensive works would have been completely destroyed, and as it is located in a very thickly settled section the fire would have been terrible indeed."

For some days Reading was uneasy and excited, and arrests continued to be made by the police; but no further outbreak occurred, and the city gradually settled down into its accustomed quiet.

On the 7th of August, the coroner's jury, which had been summoned a day or two after the conflict with the mob, to consider the cause of the death of the killed on that occasion, rendered the following verdict, in which substantial justice is done to the troops:

The undersigned, members of an inquest upon the bodies of the following named citizens: Milton Trace, James J. Fisher, Ludwig Hoffman, John H. Weaver, Lewis A. Eisenhower, John A. Cassidy, John A. Wunder, Daniel Nachtrieb, Elias Shafer and Howard Cramp, who were killed during a riot on Monday evening, July 23d, 1877, in the city of Reading, after having heard a large number of witnesses and after due inquiry and consideration of all the facts and circumstances attending the riotous demonstration, report as follows:

First. The said persons came to their death by a firing of the military upon the rioters.

Second. That the soldiers composing a portion of the 4th Regiment, Pa. N. G., numbering about two hundred men, while marching through the railroad cut along Seventh street, were continually assailed with stones and brickbats from the time they entered the cut at Walnut street bridge until they approached Penn street, a distance of two squares, the assault

becoming severer the further they moved, and being accompanied with pistol shots after they had reached Washington street bridge; that during said march many of the soldiers were badly wounded by the missiles, some of them being knocked down two or three times. Notwithstanding an order from the commanding officer not to fire, a single shot from one of the military was a signal for others to fire, which soon became general. It would be expecting too much of human nature, especially on the part of untrained soldiers, to expect them not to fire under the fearful peril in which they were placed, and when once the firing commenced, the volleys of stone and pistol shots continuing, and being especially directed against their ranks, the inquest cannot censure them for the manner in which they acted.

Third. That the military were here as the representatives of public order, under directions of Major-General Bolton, who was doubtless acting under the State civil authority, said orders having been duly communicated to General Reeder, commanding the 4th Regiment, who was instructed to report to the sheriff, mayor or railroad officials. Having been met before reaching Reading by several officers of the railroad company, who informed him that the railroad depot was in possession of the mob, he left the cars, with command, at a short distance above the depot, and marched down the railroad to the depot. Upon reaching the depot and finding it in possession of the Coal and Iron police, but meeting neither the sheriff nor the mayor (the latter official being out of the city), he was requested by an official of the railroad company to move in the direction of Penn street to release a passenger train then in the hands of the mob, and while complying with this request the firing of the military took place. It thus appears that under the evidence, so far as it has been laid before the inquest, that General Reeder, with his command, was acting within his

instructions, and if any blame is to be attached to the action of the military, it must be borne by the superior officer in command.

Fourth. That while the deaths were immediately owing to the firing of the soldiers, who were at the proper place, under proper authority, where the disorder was raging, yet the responsibility for the terrible tragedy of Monday night is directly attributable to those who composed the lawless body assembled near the corner of Seventh and Penn streets, who were instigating the riotous proceedings. While many were present not as inciting to riot, but out of idle curiosity, they, nevertheless, by their presence gave aid and confidence to the mob spirit who initiated the disturbance. The latter are the persons primarily responsible for all the subsequent trouble and bloodshed, and, if detected and arrested, should be held to the severest accountability.

Fifth. The absence of the mayor from the city may be a sufficient excuse for the inactivity of the city authorities at the time.

Sixth. While on the one hand the testimony clearly shows that Chief of Police Cullen was faithful in the discharge of his official duty, it is a matter of regret to the inquest that the testimony does not equally commend the sheriff in the discharge of his duty; on the contrary, though telegraphed for early on Monday morning, 23d July, and having reached the city by special train, provided by the railroad company, at five o'clock A. M., he nevertheless made no attempt to provide for the preservation of the public peace, although earnestly appealed to and urged to organize a posse by a number of citizens during the day. It is well known that during the whole of Monday the city was under the power and in the control of the mob, whose progress was hourly gathering strength, and that therefore at noon Messrs. Wootten and Miller offered to furnish a sufficient number of men, with arms and ammunition,

to constitute a posse comitatus, and suppress the riot if the sheriff would give the authority for so doing. This offer was declined by the sheriff, who significantly remarked that the mob also had arms. All that the sheriff of Berks county did in this fearful emergency, after wasting the whole day in his office doing nothing, was to issue his proclamation, after five o'clock in the evening, calling upon citizens to remain at home. In conclusion thereof, or in accordance with evidence presented, the inquest believes that the sheriff, having neglected and refused to perform what was his obvious duty, is in a measure responsible for the events which followed.

WILLIAM BLAND, DAVID FOX,
WILLIAM C. KELCHNER, S. A. STOUT,
JOHN H. KELLY, REUBEN HOTTELSTERN,
GEORGE S. GOODHART.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STRIKE IN THE MINING REGIONS.

The Strike Reaches the Coal Regions—Trouble at Pottsville and Shamokin—Strike on the Lehigh Valley Railroad—Trains Stopped—Matters at Wilkes-barre—Efforts of the Company to Run the Trains—The Governor asked to Protect the Road—Riot at Wilkesbarre—A Plucky Engineer—Triumph of the Strikers—The Troops Capture Plymouth and Wilkesbarre—Wholesale Arrests—Collapse of the Strike—The Troubles at Easton—Excitement at Scranton—Strike of the Men of the Lackawanna Coal and Iron Company—The Railroad Men Join the Strike—Proclamation of the Mayor—Trains Stopped at Scranton—Strike of the Miners—The Mines Flooded—Mob Violence at Scranton—Surrender of the Railroad Strikers—Bitterness of the Miners—Trains Stopped at Plymouth—The Rioters Take Possession of Scranton—Attack on the Mayor—His Narrow Escape—The Posse Summoned—The Rioters Fired Upon and Scattered—The Mob Overawed—Arrival of the Governor and the Troops—Capture of Strikers—The Danger Over—Interview of the Strikers with the Governor—Sullenness of the Miners—The Coroner's Jury—A Shameful Verdict—Arrest and Rescue of Members of the Mayor's Posse—The Sequel—The Rioters Foiled—The Strike Spreads through the Coal Regions.

FROM Reading the strike spread rapidly into the mining regions of Pennsylvania. Attempts were made by the miners at Pottsville and Shamokin, in the Schuylkill district, to bring on riots on the 24th and 25th, but were failures. At Shamokin the rioters were fired upon by the burgess and his posse and dispersed. The citizens gave an unswerving support to the authorities, and the danger was averted. At Mauch Chunk an effort was made to induce the firemen and brakemen on the Lehigh & Susquehanna Railroad to join in the strike, but the majority of the men refused to leave their work.

The Lehigh Valley Railroad men joined the strike

on the 25th, and there was considerable excitement at Bethlehem. The trains were stopped and the engineers and firemen forced to abandon their locomotives. On the same day the brakemen and firemen on the eastern division of this road, extending from Easton to Mauch Chunk, struck, and blockaded the road. The Lehigh Valley men at Easton joined the strike during the night, and those at Wilkesbarre took similar action about the same time. This placed the entire line of the Lehigh Valley Railroad in the hands of the strikers. All freight trains were stopped, and the strikers announced that while they would allow the company to carry the mails over its line, no passenger trains would be permitted to run. The railroad officials then gave orders to stop all trains, and to make no attempt to carry the mails.

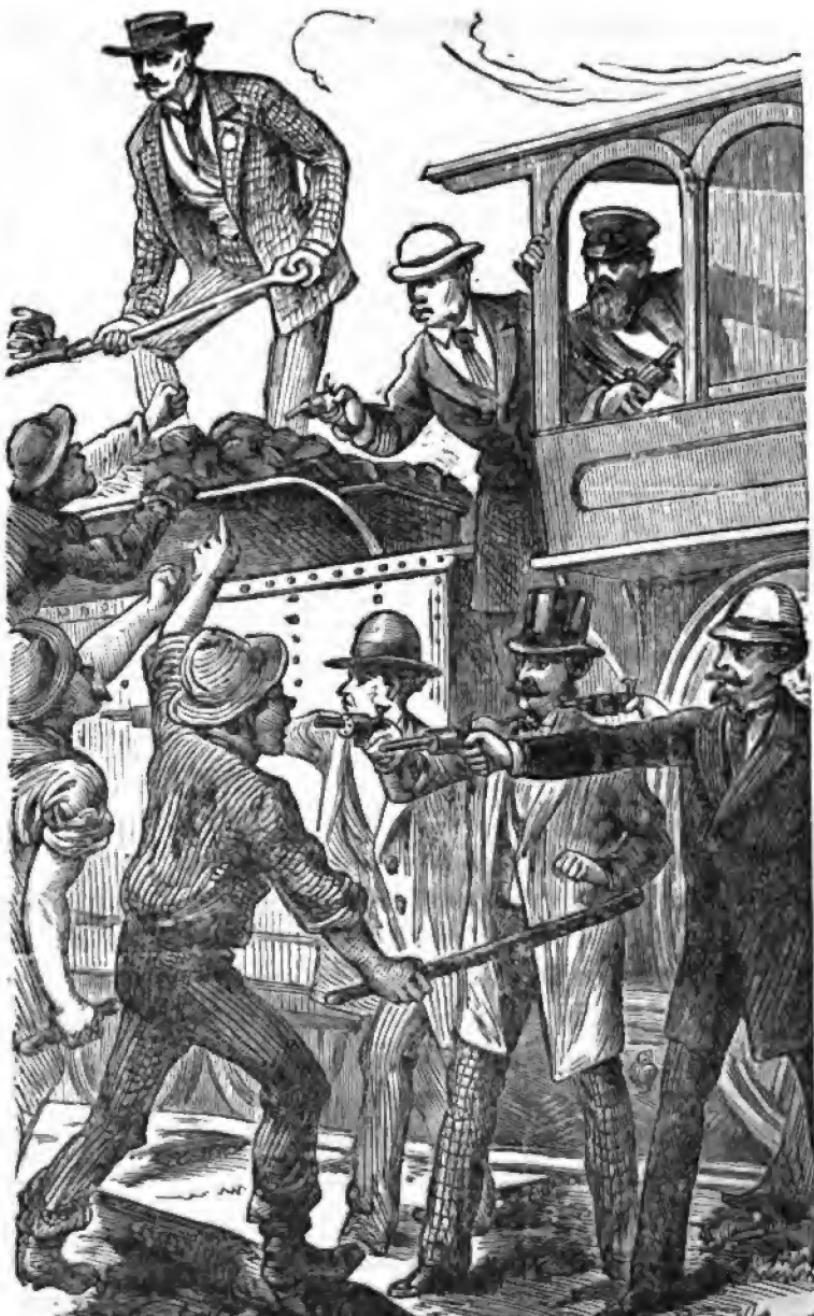
Bethlehem and Wilkesbarre were the centres of the trouble. The principal excitement was at the latter place. On the night of the 25th all the passenger trains were stopped at Wilkesbarre, but on the morning of the 26th some of them were permitted to depart, in order that the men employed on them might reach their homes.

The strikers continued to hold the road until the last of July. The company then determined to run their trains in spite of the strikers, and on the 31st succeeded in getting a train through from Bethlehem to Mauch Chunk. They announced to their employés that their abandonment of their posts was virtually a withdrawal from the service of the company, and that their places would be supplied with new men. This was done in a great measure. Application was made to the governor for assistance, and a force of State militia and regulars was

ordered to protect the road. The strikers declared their intention to stop the trains, and on the 1st of August, the day appointed for the resumption of traffic, a large crowd assembled at the depot at Wilkesbarre, resolved that no trains should pass that point.

In spite of this demonstration the authorities of the road prepared to send out a train. This action greatly excited the rioters. At this juncture Mayor Loomis was observed making his way through the crowd to the engine. He was alone, not even a policeman accompanying him. By great effort he reached the engine and jumped upon its side. Then he read the riot act to the crowd, uttered a few words of counsel and advice, and leaped down among the men, who began plying him with all sorts of questions. In the meantime the train backed down several hundred yards. The strikers supposed that it was for the purpose of changing engines, which is usually done at this point. Another engine stood all ready on a side track, and the strikers were impressed with the belief that they would have plenty of time to operate before the change was made; but suddenly the engine attached to the train began to move forward, and as Engineer Drumheller "threw her wide open," she bounced forward and left the depot at a terrific speed. She ran so fast that it was impossible for any person to board her. The march thus stolen on the strikers made them very angry, and they resolved to make up for it before night, and they kept their word.

It was when the 3.45 train from Elmira came in that Engineer Drumheller, who had taken the other train out, returned with this. The strikers made up their minds to stop him at all hazards. The train was



AN ENGINEER ON THE DELAWARE & LACKAWANNA RAILROAD,
BEING UNABLE TO PROCEED WITH HIS TRAIN WITHOUT A
FIREMAN, A PASSENGER VOLUNTEERS.

made up similarly to the one which had successfully passed before. About fifty passengers were on board. As it halted at the depot two men leaped into the engine cab and caught hold of Drumheller. Others uncoupled the engine from the balance of the train and cut the bell-cord. A United States detective was crowded off the platform by a car and subsequently badly hurt. At this juncture an engineer leaped on the engine and pulled her out. A dozen men and boys jumped on her, and, amid whistles and screeches, she flew out of the town. In the meantime Drumheller was getting badly punished. The crowd was terribly excited, and threatened all sorts of things.

One of the company's constables, a lame man, made his appearance, and was attacked. He sought refuge at police head-quarters. Several of the mob drew revolvers, but as no one was by to protest against their action a fight did not occur. The passengers on the train were all terribly frightened and ran off for protection.

Immediately after the engine had been run off by the men and the train left standing on the track the following order was posted upon the Lehigh Valley depot:

Notice.—All peaceful and lawful measures have failed to secure safe transit of mail, passenger, and freight trains. Notice is hereby given that all trains are abandoned indefinitely, till further notice, on the Wyoming division. By order,

ROBERT SAYRE, *Superintendent.*

The triumph of the strikers was of short duration. On the night of the 1st it was known that the State and Federal troops were on their way to Scranton

and Wilkesbarre. Very soon after this the rioters, many of whom were masked, set to work to tear up the tracks. Having done this, they supposed they had effectually blocked the way of the troops. Plymouth, a neighboring town, was captured by the troops without resistance, after midnight on the 1st, and from that point a strong force of troops was marched rapidly



SCENE IN THE MINING DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

across the country to Wilkesbarre, which town was quietly occupied at daybreak on the 2d of August, before the rioters had awokened from their slumbers. Every man whom the troops encountered on their march was arrested, and when Wilkesbarre was occupied every person found in the streets was secured and placed under guard. The magistrates, citizens, and

strikers were all secured and held until they could be identified. This unexpected movement completely paralyzed the strikers, who offered no resistance. About seventy of them were arrested and held by the troops. A considerable force was left at Wilkesbarre, and under the protection of the troops the tracks were repaired. About noon Governor Hartranft and two trains loaded with troops passed through the town towards Scranton.

The strike was now at an end on the Lehigh Valley road. The State authorities being able to give protection to the road, the company began to run its trains at once, and the strikers generally sought employment in their old places.

The suspension of traffic on the road seriously affected the manufacturing industries of this part of the State. At Bethlehem and other points, the large mills were compelled to suspend operations because of their inability to procure coal, and thus large bodies of workingmen were compelled to be idle.

At Easton, on the Delaware river, the main line of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad connects with its Morris and Essex division, the latter lying within the State of New Jersey. Other important roads terminate at Easton. Considerable disturbance was occasioned at this point by the strike of the men on the roads above mentioned, and the New Jersey Central Railroad trains were stopped, and threats made, but no outbreak was attempted.

Scranton, the most important point in the coal region, was profoundly agitated from the first of the troubles. On the afternoon of the 24th the strike was begun by the employés of the Lackawanna Iron and

Coal Company. As soon as the gong sounded at noon; the men, to the number of about 1,500, stopped work and struck, and all operations ceased in the rolling-mills, foundries and steel works. The strike was first declared in the old rolling mill, at a given signal, and the men retired from the building, leaving the red-hot bars in the rolls, and the fires glowing in the furnaces. They then proceeded in procession to the company's steel works, where work was immediately suspended,



MINING VILLAGE IN THE LACKAWANNA VALLEY, PENNSYLVANIA.

and the employés joining the strikers, the entire party marched to the foundries and shops, where similar scenes were enacted. The men said that it was impossible for them to live on the wages they had been receiving, and on the 15th of the month their pay was cut down ten per cent. more. A meeting was held in the afternoon, and it was resolved to demand a restoration of the last ten per cent. reduction. On the

fight of the 23d, the men employed at the Meadow Brook Mines, in the suburb of Scranton, struck for higher pay, about 300 of them turning out.

At six o'clock on the evening of the 24th the firemen in the employ of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western and the Delaware & Hudson Companies struck work. As soon as the bell in the round house denoted the hour of six, the men conveyed their engines into the yard, drew the fires from them, and left them in good order. A coal train which left Scranton at five o'clock was returned, and placed side by side with about twenty other trains laden with black diamonds in the yard. The firemen retired from their work peaceably, and in the course of conversations held with several of them, they declared that they would protect life and property with their lives if need be. Superintendent Manville answered the men in the employ of the Delaware & Hudson Company in the afternoon to the effect that the company would make no concession, and the firemen on that line struck simultaneously with those on the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western road. The men took all the passenger trains to their destinations, and as soon as they arrived at the depot the fires were drawn and the engines placed in the yards.

It was announced by the railroad officials that no freight, coal or passenger train would run until the difficulty was settled. The strike was solely on the part of the firemen, and the engineers, conductors and brakemen were not concerned in it. The effect of the strike on the road was to prevent all shipments of coal, and to make the mines throughout the Lackawanna valley idle.

In view of the excitement prevailing in the city, the Mayor of Scranton, on the 24th, issued the following proclamation:

To the Citizens of Scranton :

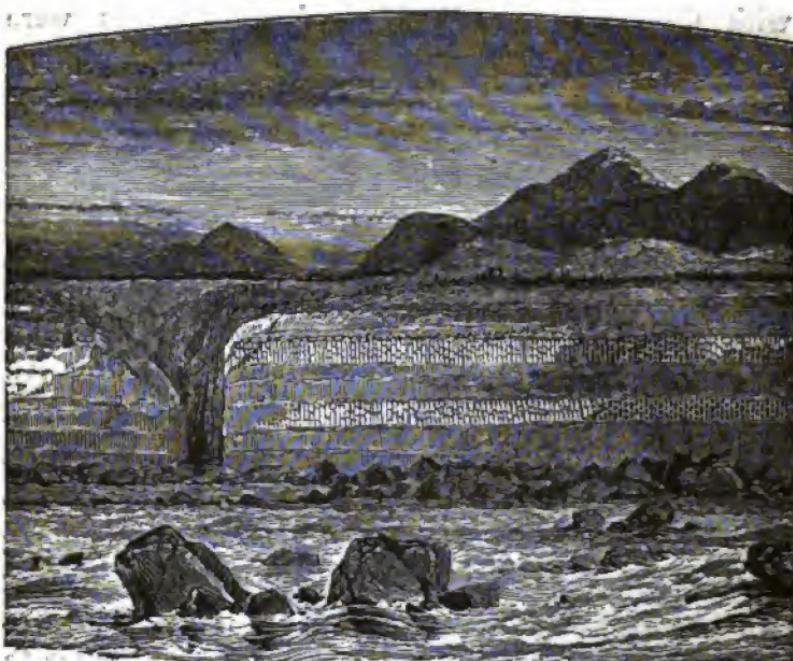
In view of the excitement throughout the country occasioned by the labor troubles and the lamentable loss of life and property in our own and other States, it becomes the duty of all good citizens to use their best efforts to preserve peace and uphold the law. Recognizing, as every one must, the unfortunate condition of the business, and financial interests of all classes of the community, and especially the hardship and suffering of the laboring men, we must yet unite in maintaining to the fullest extent the majesty of the law and the protection of life and property. I therefore earnestly urge all good citizens, and especially the workingmen themselves, to abstain from all excited discussion of the prominent question of the day. The laboring men of our city are vitally interested in the preservation of peace and good order and the prevention of any possible destruction of property. I trust the leading men among the workingmen fully realize that the interests of the whole city are their interests, and that any riot or destruction of life or property can work only injury to all classes and to the good name of our city. Every taxpayer will realize that any destruction of property will have to be paid for by the city, and would by so much increase the burden of taxation. In one day Pittsburgh has put upon herself a load that her taxpayers will struggle under for years. In conclusion, I again earnestly urge upon men of all classes in our city the necessity of sober, careful thought and the criminal folly of any precipitate action. ROBERT H. MCKUNE, Mayor.

The excitement continued to increase, and, on the 25th thousands of miners flocked into Scranton,

swelling the crowds about the depot, and adding to the danger. The strikers declared that they would allow the mails to pass unmolested, but would suffer no passenger cars to go through. The excitement increased to fever heat when the morning mail train from Binghampton, for New York, arrived at 9.50. The strikers were indignant to find that an express car and three passenger coaches were attached, together with the mail car. Exciting demonstrations were made at the various stations along the line, and at Great Bend, forty miles north of Scranton, a crowd of five hundred sought to detach the passenger cars, but were deterred by the engineers. On arriving at the suburbs of Scranton, the train was boarded by a number of the strikers, who, as soon as it reached within a few yards of the depot, cut off the passenger and express cars, and permitted the mail to pass. At the depot an excited crowd boarded the train, and the postmaster was about to put on the mails when informed by the railroad officials that the train would go no further unless the passenger cars were allowed to run. This decision caused much indignation among the strikers, and several uttered loud threats of seizing the engine and running the mail to New York, but wiser counsels prevailed, and a meeting was forthwith held on the platform, when it was resolved to telegraph to Governor Hartranft and Postmaster-General Key, apprising them of the state of affairs, and disclaiming all responsibility on the part of the men for the detention of the mails, which were carried back to the post office.

The reply was awaited with anxiety, and the telegraph office and depot were crowded till noon, when a

Hag was flung from a window of the head-quarters of the strikers. It was a call for a meeting, and there was a rush for the hall at once, none but firemen and brakemen being admitted. A despatch from Governor Hartranft was read amid cheers, stating that he had instructed Superintendent Halstead to allow the mails to run through.. The men then prepared a statement



SCENE IN THE COAL REGIONS.

for publication in the local papers, setting forth their grievances and the cause for their present action. They also adopted a petition, asking the saloon-keepers to close their places of business. On the same day the brakemen joined the firemen in the strike.

The excitement was increased during the day by the action of the miners, who represented no less than forty

thousand men in the Scranton district, asking an increase of twenty-five per cent. on their wages. A committee of six waited on the general coal superintendent, W. R. Storrs, and presented a series of resolutions, setting forth the fact that the men had endured repeated reductions until their wages had reached a starvation standard, and that they did not propose to endure it any longer. They further stated that if the men on the railroad returned to work, they would hold out until such time as their wages were advanced. Mr. Storrs informed them that he would forward their petition to the company, and would have an answer for them on Friday. The men then called a mass-meeting in the woods, in the suburbs, for the afternoon of the 26th.

The Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company's employés, and the men in the iron and steel works, sent a committee to wait on the general superintendent, W. W. Scranton, to-day, and demanded an increase of twenty-five per cent. He made quite a lengthy address to the men, stating that the company could not give the increase at present, owing to the depressed condition of the iron industry. The men held a mass-meeting, at which they decided to hold out to the last. The workmen employed in the railroad shops demanded an increase of twenty per cent. in the morning, and struck work at noon. The strike thus became general. It extended to every branch of industry in the valley, and the condition of affairs was very serious. Secret meetings were held throughout the city by the strikers, and the public were kept in a state of painful apprehension.

The strike of the miners introduced a new and

dangerous element into the troubles. The miners, not satisfied with quitting work, refused to allow the pumps of the mines to be worked. The men who attempted to run the pumps, the work of which was necessary to keep the mines from flooding, were driven away by the strikers, and the engines were "shut down." The water was thus allowed to gain steadily upon the mines, flooding them, and injuring them to the extent of many thousand dollars. This wilful destruction of the property of their employers by the miners was simply suicidal. A despatch from Scranton, on the 29th of July, thus summed up the state of affairs:

"The entire Lackawanna region is idle. Weak before last this region sent nearly 150,000 tons of coal to market. Last week it did not send a tithe of that quantity, and next week it will not send any. The miners of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company quit work yesterday morning, and those of the Pennsylvania Coal Company are in enforced idleness on account of the destruction of a head-house and bridge on their gravity railroad. The head-house, which was situated in the woods east of this city, was burned down at three o'clock this morning by a mob which surprised the watchman, and tied him with ropes to a neighboring tree. They saturated the wood-work of the head-house, and then set it off with a match. It made a fierce blaze, which was plainly visible here. Destruction of the head-house causes a complete stoppage from Hawley to Pittston. It was not the work of the company's employés, but of outside persons, who took that mode of forcing the strike upon them. The Pennsylvania Coal Company have recently been working on full time at their mines, and the best of feeling exists between themselves and their workmen. The latter are indignant at the dastardly act, and the prospects are that

the burned property will not be replaced until the dispute between labor and capital is settled.

"The watchman who was driven from the burnt head-house states that the place was set on fire by no fewer than a hundred men, who danced about the blaze like demons, and shouted in fiendish exultation while the work of destruction was going on. Superintendent Smith states that the act will make the company's mines idle for an indefinite period. They were working on full time, and shipping 30,000 tons a week. The men in the company's employ had made no demand for an increase of wages, and the burning of the head-house is the act of outsiders, who wanted to force them into a strike. Not a mine in the valley is at work, and the most of them are filling fast with water. An idea of the importance of flooding a mine can be obtained from the fact that in 1868 the Diamond Colliery was idle three days for the repair of its machinery, and it took eight months, and cost \$30,000, to pump out the water that accumulated in that time. The Mayor and company's officials will make an effort to-morrow to set the mine pumps to work. The situation here is absolutely painful, and there is no knowing what moment an outbreak will occur."

Mayor McKune was very active in his efforts to bring about an adjustment of the troubles, and succeeded at length in inducing the miners in the neighborhood of Scranton to allow the pumps to be run by the bosses, clerks, and civil engineers in the employ of the coal companies. This concession gave great offence to the strikers in the lower part of the county, and delegations were sent to the Scranton miners to put a stop to the practice.

Efforts were made to settle the strike on the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad, and with suc-

cess. On the 30th of July the men gave up the struggle, and returned to work at the old wages. This surrender was brought about by the action of the Mayor, who sent for the executive committee, whom he informed that travel would have to be resumed over the road the next morning, even if the presence of the troops were necessary to such a result. Accordingly the men called a meeting at one o'clock, when a decision was had in favor of returning to work by a vote of 82 to 9. The committee then proceeded to inform Superintendent Halstead of the decision arrived at, the only terms asked being that no one taking an active part in the strike should be prosecuted. This he consented to, and in half an hour later a passenger train started from this city for Northumberland. It was greeted by crowds at every station along the line, but no demonstrations were made. A despatch was forwarded to Binghampton to start No. 4 train from there for New York, and it passed through Scranton uninterrupted at six o'clock. Passenger and freight traffic was now fairly established all along the line, and the bubble of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad strike had burst.

The railroad men were bitterly denounced for their surrender by the miners, who numbered between 20,000 and 30,000 men in the Lackawanna valley. The miners avowed their intention to continue the strike until their terms were accepted by the coal companies. They became more and more turbulent every day, and it at last became evident to the Mayor of Scranton that the presence of troops at that city was necessary. Governor Hartranft was informed of the state of affairs, and decided to go to the assistance of Scranton with a force of State militia and regulars.

The desperate men along the line of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western road were resolved that the trains sent out by the company should not pass. A mob gathered at Plymouth, near Wilkesbarre, on the night of the 30th of July, and seized the train from Northumberland for Scranton, drove off the engineer and put out the fires.

In the meantime the efforts to settle the trouble with the miners about Scranton were carried on steadily, and some progress was made. Many of the men were weary of the strike, and were anxious to go to work, and some did so stealthily. This greatly angered the mass of the miners, who resolved on making a grand rally for their decaying influence. They determined to prevent every one of their faltering fellows from working until some united action should be decided upon.

A mass-meeting was held on the morning of the 1st of August, in the suburbs of the city. The critical situation was discussed by servid speakers. The policy of the railroad and coal companies was denounced, and the action of the men who had gone back to work in some of the shops and blast furnaces censured in scathing terms. About 5,000 men were present, and several speeches were made in favor of law and order and were listened to with profound attention. It was evident, however, that the men felt bitter. The multitude was stirred to a terrible excitement by a fire-brand letter from some anonymous malcontent, who made the assertion that W. W. Scranton, general superintendent of the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, said he would have the men work for thirty-five cents a day. The reading of this wild and mischievous missive was followed by curses and threats;

and a storm of passion seemed gathering. The meeting, ascertaining that reporters were present, drove them off and seized their notes. The men then separated in two squads, proceeded to the machine shops, foundries and furnaces of the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, and drove off a number of men and boys who were at work. They then went to the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western car shops. The workmen there were panic-stricken and fled in terror. Some of them were seriously injured, as was also a foreman named Little.

Mayor McKune, who had been apprised of the proceedings, appearing upon the scene, his presence was the signal for a general uproar, the crowd hooting as he passed. During the negotiations which had recently been going on for a settlement of the trouble, the more turbulent of the strikers became unfriendly to the Mayor. The words which he now addressed to the multitude in favor of law and order were wasted. He was driven from the ground, and happening to meet the Rev. Father Dunn, of St. Vincent's Cathedral, took him by the arm. The priest seeing a man closely pursued by the mob appealed to them to desist, and called upon those in front to keep that portion of the crowd at bay. Father Dunn begged them to be peaceable, as became good citizens. They replied that they would; that they were only trying to obtain their rights, and that it was their intention to obtain them peaceably. Soon the appealing words of the priest were drowned in the cries of the mob. In the rush which followed Mr. Lilly, a lumber boss in the employ of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western shops, was beaten. The Mayor endeavored by all the means in his power to

disperse the multitude. They were determined to vent their anger upon him, and in a few minutes after he was dealt a murderous blow on the head. The first blow was followed by another more severe, and apparently dealt with a heavy club. The Mayor staggered



ATTACK ON MR. LILLY BY THE SCRANTON RIOTERS.

and fell, and with him Father Dunn, whose arm he still held. The excitement was intense. Blood flowed freely from the Mayor's mouth, and cries: "The Mayor is killed," went up on all sides. It was feared that he would be clubbed to death, but he succeeded in escaping to Hunt's store, on the corner of Lackawanna

avenue, where he took temporary refuge. A portion of the crowd lifted Father Dunn from where he fell and carried him bodily from the scene, leaving him on Lackawanna avenue. Although badly shocked, he escaped unhurt.

In view of the danger to the city, the mayor had, some time previous to this, organized a posse of citizens who were armed with repeating rifles. The command of this body had been conferred upon Colonel W. W. Scranton. Upon learning the extent of the outbreak, Colonel Scranton now ordered the alarm bells to be rung to summon the posse, and about the same time received an order from the mayor to come to his assistance. The members of the posse promptly assembled, about fifty strong, and marched to the scene of danger under the command of Colonel Scranton. On reaching the intersection of Washington and Lackawanna avenues, they encountered the mob, and at the same time saw the mayor bleeding at the street corner as they crossed Washington avenue. Just as the posse was approaching him for instructions, some of the more thoughtless of the crowd commenced throwing sticks and stones at the armed men. A pistol shot was heard just then, and T. W. Bortree, who was in the rear of the mayor's posse, was shot in the knee, and immediately the company faced about and fired. A number of shots were heard. The posse fired irregularly; some aimed over the crowd, and others fired with fatal effect, killing four men and wounding others. As soon as the first volley was fired the crowd scattered in all directions and took refuge in every available place, leaving four of their number dead and dying on the street. Two other volleys were fired, and by this time the mob

had been utterly dispersed. The ghastly picture presented upon the street as they left was horrible. On the corner near Hunt's store lay a man with the top of his head torn off and his blood and brains scattered upon the sidewalk. Three others in the street were struggling in the death agony. The sounds of the firing had scarcely ceased when Father Dunn returned to



MINERS' HOUSES, PENNSYLVANIA COAL REGIONS.

carry comfort to the dying. He found two already dead. One man, who made an effort to run in at the side door of Monies & Pughes' bakery, was shot upon the steps. The bullet entered his left breast and his arm was also badly injured. At first it was thought he would survive, but he bled to death. It is supposed that no fewer than twenty persons were injured.

The mob scattered and fled after the firing, and the streets were soon clear. The prompt action of the mayor's posse in firing upon the rioters brought matters to a crisis. It was plain to the authorities that they must now maintain quiet by force until aid could be received, or that the city must be given up to the mob. The streets were accordingly patrolled by armed citizens, and an urgent appeal was forwarded to Governor Hartranft at Pittsburgh for aid.

As soon as the news from Scranton was received, Governor Hartranft detached 2,000 men of the force assembled at Pittsburgh and promptly embarked them on the cars. At the same time orders were sent to General Brinton, who had reached Harrisburg with the 1st Division, en route for Philadelphia, to proceed at once with his command to Scranton. General Brinton promptly obeyed the order, and proceeded by way of Sunbury and Plymouth. He had a force of 1,800 men with him. He was followed by the Governor with 2,000 men from Pittsburgh, and at the same time a force of 250 regulars was despatched from Philadelphia to join the Governor at Scranton.

General Brinton hastened forward with all speed and reached Avondale, about nine miles below Wilkesbarre, about nine o'clock on the night of the 1st of August. Here the train was halted and two companies of regulars deployed as skirmishers, with orders to march in front of the train and arrest every person found out of doors. The neighborhood of Avondale is a bad one, and a terrible organization, known as "Terry's gang," has its head-quarters there. The train moved along very slowly, guards being on every platform. Many captures were made, and as fast as prisoners were

taken they were brought to the train and placed in a car set apart specially for the purpose. In this way they passed onward to Plymouth, which is about three miles from Avondale.

When they reached Plymouth the borough was at



DOWN IN A COAL MINE.

once surrounded and all the streets patrolled. Every person found abroad was arrested and taken on the train. Some seventy persons were thus arrested. Among these were a few of the best citizens of the town, who were at once released when it was known who they were. One or two men attempted to escape

from the soldiers, and were at once fired upon, one fugitive receiving a very serious wound in the heel. The troops remained about an hour in Plymouth, when they again passed onward to Kingston. Skirmishers were deployed as before and several prisoners captured. Shortly after the train left Plymouth a mob tore up several rails from the track, and at points near Avondale the road was blockaded with huge stones. On the journey from Kingston to Scranton, a distance of fifteen miles, two obstructions were met—one near Wyoming, and the other at Taylorville, near Scranton. In each case rails had been removed.

About one o'clock Governor Hartranft and staff arrived at Kingston with more troops and supplies. The Governor, with his aides, occupied a special car. Colonel Stanley Woodward, of the Governor's staff, of Wilkesbarre, met the executive at the depot, where a long conference was held. Subsequently the Governor departed for Scranton, accompanied by a large body of troops. The Governor's train had been delayed by the obstructions. One train, loaded with troops, mostly composed of the 6th Regiment, was left at Kingston, and was soon joined by another. A large force was left at Plymouth, and troops were also sent to Wilkesbarre, which was successfully occupied, as has been related.

With the rest of his force the Governor hastened on to Scranton. Great care was exercised in watching for the places where the track had been torn up. When these places were reached, the rioters who had been captured were forced to replace the rails, and the train passed on. The vicinity of the depot at Scranton was reached before daylight on the morning of August 2d. The troops did not arrive a moment too soon. There

had been a vigilance committee on duty guarding a long freight train, lying on a side track near the depot. Threats had been made that certain cars would be opened and their contents, consisting of provisions, removed. These threats were just about being carried into execution when the troops arrived. Men were pouring in by the hundreds from the neighboring mining districts, and crowds were rapidly gathering near the depot. The citizen police were growing quite nervous, although they were determined. When the troops arrived, however, with two Gatling guns on a platform car in front of the engine, glittering in the moonlight, and hundreds of bayonets sticking out of the car windows, the effect was miraculous. There was an instant stampede made for the fields and mountains, and in five minutes not a man was to be seen about the depot.

The troops were warmly received by the citizens of Scranton, and went into camp in various parts of the city and in the suburbs. Under the protection of the military, travel was resumed upon the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad. The mob was fairly overawed, but half-suppressed threats and curses directed at the troops were freely indulged in. A meeting of citizens was held which adopted resolutions indorsing the firing upon the mob by the mayor's posse, and pledging a firm support to the mayor in his efforts in behalf of law and order.

A letter from Scranton to the *Philadelphia Times*, written August 3d, thus describes the state of affairs:

The sullen determination of the strikers in the present struggle is shown most forcibly by the fact that

despite the powerful protection now here for those who desire to pursue their peaceful avocations, none of the miners have returned to work, and the mine pumps are still worked by the bosses and clerks in the employ of the companies. The feeling kindled by the flash of Wednesday's firing is still intense and bitter, and from what I can ascertain from inquiry among the working classes to-day, has served to cement the strikers in a stronger bond of union than heretofore. The threat that grass will grow in the mines and water flow from the mouths of the shafts before work is resumed at the reduced rate of wages is freely indulged in, and the heart would be callous indeed that could not in a measure sympathize with these men for a peaceable resistance after visiting their homes and hearing the stories of the sufferings which they and their little ones endure even when they are at what is called work. My eyes fill with tears as I write when I recall the wretchedness which encountered me on every hand to-day in a miners' settlement which I visited west of this city. Most of the men know me, but they seemed inclined to shrink away on seeing my approach, ashamed to meet me and their wretchedness at the same time. Years ago they were, comparatively speaking, well off, but now, between the poor house and the mine, the former is far preferable for them. There is no drunkenness among these people, simply because they have no money with which to drown their grief. They have no money to satisfy the pangs of hunger, and people wonder why they are sullen and discontented. They will be peaceable while the soldiers are here, but when they go away they will have many a grievance to redress from their standpoint. The military have made many friends here and are fraternizing with the citizens, of whose kind treatment they speak in the highest terms.

On the 3d of August a committee of six men from the working miners had an interview with Governor

Hartranft. The correspondent of the *Philadelphia Times* thus describes the scene :

While the soldier-witnesses were standing on the platform, six committeemen, rough in appearance, but having generally intelligent countenances, approached the Governor's car, and the leader handed the guard a slip of paper, evidently the fly-leaf of a diary, on which was written in a scrawling hand, but in good spelling,

"To his Excellency, J. F. Hartranft—Sir : We, a committee of workingmen, desire an interview." This was signed by six names. They were admitted at once, the Governor rising and shaking each man by the hand and inviting them to be seated. They were impressed by the solemnity of the presence, and the chairman was backward, but one of the committee gave him courage by saying, "This is the chairman of our committee." "Governor," he began, "we've been informed that there was to be an interview between you and the operators of the railroads and the mines." "I have not heard of it," said the Governor. "We were informed so, and we wanted to meet them face-to-face with you. We hope we don't displease you." The last sentence was said awkwardly, but the face-to-face part was that of a man who knew he had rights. The Governor replied quietly : "I haven't come here, gentlemen, to represent anybody but the State of Pennsylvania and the people, to preserve the peace. I have no authority to speak for the companies. I came here to protect the railroads in opening travel on their property, just as I would have done for any citizen who was illegally obstructed in the enjoyment of his rights or property. If anybody wants to work, he should be allowed to do so, or if he wants to quit work, it is his right to do so, and it is my duty to see that every man's rights shall be preserved."

Then the first speaker broke in with, "We'd like to face the men who have been depriving us of our rights,"

but the next man was a good talker, and his Welsh accent rang out clearly. "We are a class of people around here where this trouble is, and we are delegated by thousands of workingmen of all kinds, miners, mechanics, and laborers, to come and represent them at a meeting between you and our employers. It is plainly here for you to see that we have been falsely represented through the press. Bread is what we are after, and, sir, we have not had enough to keep our families from suffering say for nearly two years, and it is written that man should not live by bread alone." The Governor replied: "This certainly will gain you the sympathy of all, but there are people who, acting under cover of your organizations, are taking possession of valuable property and keeping its rightful owners from its proper enjoyment, and that is where the trouble is." The miner answered this quickly: "There are plenty of people walking around who never did a day's work, who in such times as this come forward and plunder and destroy, and their deeds are shouldered on to us. Whenever we meet as workingmen it's our text not to destroy property, because it might keep us out of work six months. I have lived twenty-two years in this region, and now have a wife and children, but I can hardly live any longer."

The Governor here closed the interview by saying that the question of wages and work was to be arranged between those interested as private parties, and "I could have nothing to do with it unless you both agreed to refer it to me, and even then I doubt whether I could be made arbitrator, as I represent the State, and merely come here to execute the laws. We regret that we had to come, and I waited until the last moment before we came." Secretary Quay here asked the question: "You have had no proposition from the railroad people to meet them, have you, Governor?" to which a negative reply was given. Then the men, saying they hoped they hadn't displeased him, shook hands each

of them with the Governor, and soon mixed with the crowd of idle workmen and curious people who constantly surround the head-quarters car. This committee had been appointed by a meeting of at least five thousand miners and other workmen that assembled in the woods at one o'clock to-day.

Scranton continued to be troubled with the excitement arising from the miners' riot. In spite of the powerful protection afforded by the troops, the workmen returned to their duties in the various industrial establishments slowly, being rendered afraid to go to work by the threats of the miners who still remained idle. A letter from Scranton, written August 7th. said:

The miners of this region manifest a most determined attitude, and from present prospects, it is safe to say, will prolong the strike in the Lackawanna and Wyoming valleys for six months, if no settlement is made. An important meeting of delegates from every mine in Luzerne county will be held here to-morrow to appoint a general executive committee, and adopt a programme for the purpose of securing perfect unity of action, so that the men at all the mines will resume work simultaneously whenever the time for resumption has come.

A mammoth store was opened here to-day by the Miners' Executive Committee to relieve the immediate necessities of their number who are in distress, and it was speedily filled with provisions. Business men placed a dozen teams at their disposal, free of charge, for the purpose of receiving and distributing supplies, and the scene about the store was animated in the extreme. Farmers in the surrounding country have made them donations of potato patches, and many of the miners have gone off in gangs to do work in the country and receive pay in provisions.

To-morrow's meeting is awaited with much interest. The Seventh Division, State militia, expected to be ordered home to-day, but owing to the critical condition of affairs will remain another week. Governor Hartranft has telegraphed that he will be here to-morrow. The 3d Infantry, United States regulars, remain on the cars night and day, ready to move at a moment's notice in any direction. A double guard



A LEHIGH MINING VILLAGE.

was placed on duty at all parts of the city to-night, owing to information received of intended depredations. Meetings are held in the neighboring woods at night, and rocket-signals continue to be sent up at midnight from every hill. Threats that vengeance will reap a red revenge when the military leave are freely indulged in.

During a review of the Seventh Division to-day by

General Huidekoper and staff, the streets were thronged, and a great sensation was created by the mother of one of the men shot last Wednesday appearing on the scene, clapping her hands, and in vehement grief exclaiming, "Oh God! isn't this a black sight for my poor heart." The intensity of feeling still prevalent gives rise to much bitter discussion, and how or where the trouble will end is still a great mystery.

In the meantime a cunning effort had been made by the friends of the rioters who were killed in the conflict of the 1st, to be revenged upon the members of the mayor's posse. The military force was too strong to permit an open attack upon these gentlemen, and it was attempted to accomplish the cowardly end under the forms of law. A coroner's jury was summoned, and an inquest was held on the bodies of the men who were killed. On the 8th of August, the jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the members of the posse. The jury was composed of sympathizers with the mob, and the inquest was conducted in such a manner as to render such a verdict inevitable. Alderman Mahon, who had been acting as coroner, at once issued his warrants for the arrest of the members of the posse, and placed them in the hands of constables, with orders to execute them. Shortly after eight o'clock that night the constables arrested T. F. Hunt and C. F. Chittenden, at the house of the former, and prepared to take them before Alderman Mahon, whose office was in the Sixth ward, the most lawless part of Scranton. It was very certain that once in the midst of the friends of the dead rioters, who were numerous in this section of the city, the prisoners would be murdered. General Huidekoper, commanding the military

force in Scranton, was at once notified of the arrest and of the danger which threatened the prisoners. He immediately despatched a detachment of troops, who took the prisoners from the constables and conveyed them to the military head-quarters. All the members of the posse were then taken in charge by General Huidekoper, who protected them through the night. The next day he handed them over to the mayor and sheriff. They were then taken to Wilkes-barre on a special train. Arriving there they appeared before the judges of the county court and gave bail to answer to the charges against them. A letter from Scranton thus refers to the arrest:

"I would not give one cent," said a leading citizen of Scranton, and the remark was repeated by many others, "for the life of any one of our number who is unfortunate enough to be captured and taken to the Sixth ward. That ward is composed of men who would gladly tear any one of us to pieces were we unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. They and their alderman show their good intentions towards us by holding a sham inquest without any authority of law, and bringing in a verdict of wilful murder against all of us. They hold that we are guilty of murder, and with their aldermanic jury's verdict to back them, they would hold a court of Judge Lynch and hang the unfortunate one of us who got into their clutches without an hour's delay, always providing that they didn't first tear him to pieces when the constable brought him into their limits and before he reached the aldermanic office."

"As for taking us to Wilkesbarre in wagons," said another citizen, "that is, if anything, worse than going to the Sixth ward. The road leads through thinly populated sections, where a few men could pounce upon

the wagons and bear away the prisoners, and the whole neighborhood is filled with Molly Maguires. Depend upon it that they wanted our lives, and that the form of law they went through with was but a cover to get us into the power of the mob."

Mr. Hunt, who was arrested, was never a member of the posse, nor had aught to do with it; yet, on the testimony of some person who doubtless had enmity towards him, he was included with the posse and a verdict of guilty of murder was laid upon him. What wonder then that no little fear existed that other unoffending citizens might be also arrested and hurried off to an almost certain death. At midnight the militia took charge of the principal business streets of the city, and not a soul was to be seen but the guard. The Wyoming House was guarded within and without by the militia, and, as your correspondent dropped off to sleep at an early hour this morning, it was to the music of a sentry's footsteps in the passages, while in the yard without and on the street fronts the boys in blue patrolled their beats.

The impression prevails that the alderman and his constables will again attempt the arrest of the members of the committee, claiming that the warrants must be served and the prisoners turned over to the county authorities by the constables and alderman. They will not attempt to make any such arrests openly; but the fear is expressed that they may pick off the citizens singly when they least expect it, in which case there would be little or no chance of rescue. The members of the committee will resist any such arrest, and are not men to be trifled with, the expression being general that they would rather their dead bodies were taken before the alderman than to be conveyed into the precincts of what may be justly termed "the bloody Sixth ward."

The disaffection in the coal regions continued to in-

crease, and assumed its most formidable proportions after the railroad troubles had been satisfactorily adjusted. By the middle of August nearly all the mines in the Lehigh, Schuylkill, Lackawanna, and other mining districts were idle, and more than sixty thousand men were out of work. The miners presented a general grievance, declaring that their wages were too low to enable them to live, and demanded an increase of from ten to twenty per cent. Though there were many isolated acts of violence committed in the coal regions, there was no general outbreak.

CHAPTER VII.

THE STRIKES IN NEW YORK.

The Strike on the Erie Railroad—The State Asked for Protection—Proclamation of the Governor of New York—Troops Ordered to Hornellsville—Trains Stopped by the Rioters—Desperation of the Strikers—Donahue, the Leader of the Strike—A Specimen Rioter—Strikers Refuse the Offer of the Erie Railroad Officials—Trouble at Other Points on the Road—The Riots at Buffalo—The Military Driven Off—The Second Detachment of the 23d Regiment Forces its Way to Hornellsville—Attempt to Burn a Bridge—Mob Violence—The Governor Proclaims the Law Respecting Interference with Railroads—A Hard Blow to the Strikers—A Reporter's Adventures—Recklessness of the Strikers—The Civil Authorities Resolve to Enforce the Law—Preparations for the Arrest of the Strikers—A Settlement Effected—Surrender of the Strikers—End of the Strike on the Erie Railroad—Comments on the Strike—Punishment of Donahue—Matters at Albany—Strike on the New York Central Railroad Threatened—Return of Governor Robinson to Albany—Mr. Vanderbilt's Policy—The Strike Begun on the New York Central Railroad—It is Mainly an Outside Movement—Indifference of the Men to the Strike—Arrival of the 9th Regiment at Albany—The Mob Overawed at Albany—End of the Strike at that Place—Arrest of Strikers—The Strike a Failure at Other Points on the New York Central Railroad—Mr. Vanderbilt's Address to his Men—Strike on the Lake Shore Road—It Fails—Excitement in New York City—Vigorous Action of the City Authorities—Action of the Communists—A Meeting Called in the Interest of the Strike—Preparations of the Police—Permission to Hold the Meeting Granted—Citizen Justice Schwab—He Wants the Police Withdrawn—The Commissioners Defy the Mob—Citizen Schwab is Astonished—The Meeting at Tompkins Square—A Great Failure—The Authorities Ready—The Danger Over—The Troops Dismissed.

LATE on the evening of the 19th of July, a meeting of firemen and brakemen employed on the Erie Railroad was held at Hornellsville, New York, at the close of which a message was sent to the Superintendent of the Erie Railroad, giving him notice that the men of the Western, Susquehanna, and Buffalo divisions had resolved to quit work at one o'clock the next morning.

The Superintendent proceeded at once to Hornellsville, where he found that the strikers had stopped work, and had taken measures to prevent all passenger and freight trains from leaving or passing through that place, east or west. Simultaneously, the firemen, brakemen, and switchmen at Salamanca, on the Western division, quit work, and when Mr. Biggs, the Superintendent of that division, who had started out from Dunkirk for Hornellsville by a special train, arrived at Salamanca, his engine was cut loose from the train and put into the engine-house, and the strikers informed him that no engine or train would be permitted to pass Salamanca. At Andover station, on the Western division, one of the striking firemen took engine No. 22, and went out on the road without orders or permission from the company, and on the time of trains, intending, he said, to go to Hornellsville.

Up to four o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th the strikers had given the company no reasons for their strike. At that hour their committee handed Superintendent Wright a document containing the following demands, on behalf of the firemen, brakemen, switchmen and trackmen: That all of the men discharged for taking part in any meeting or going as a committee to New York shall be reinstated. The brakemen to receive \$2 a day, the switchmen \$2, the head switchman \$2.25, truckmen in yard \$1.50, truckmen on sections \$1.40, and pay no rentals on company's grounds except as by agreement. The firemen to have same pay, or rates of pay, as they received prior to July 1st, 1877, and monthly passes to be continued as before, and passes to be issued to brakemen and switchmen. These demands were at once communicated to Receiver Jewett, at New York.

By their action in seizing the Erie Railroad and stopping its business by force, the strikers not only violated the laws of the State of New York, but were guilty of resistance to the orders of the Supreme Court of the State, the Erie Railroad at this time being managed by a receiver appointed by the court.

The officials of the Erie Railroad promptly made arrangements to have through passengers and baggage transported by the New York Central Railroad, and at the same time reported the seizure of their road to the Governor of New York, and asked the protection of the State. Governor Robinson thereupon issued the following proclamation :

In the name of the State of New York:

Proclamation.

Whereas, The receiver appointed by the Supreme Court of this State to take all care of the management of the Erie Railway and its properties has made known to me that a conspiracy has been formed to prevent his discharging his duty as such receiver under the orders of the said court; that the business of said road and the running of trains have been interrupted by violence which the civil authorities are unable to suppress; and,

Whereas, The honor and good faith of the State require that it should protect the said court and its officers in the execution of its order:

Now, therefore, I, Lucius Robinson, Governor of the State of New York, by virtue of the authority imposed upon me by the constitution and the laws, command all persons engaged in such unlawful acts to desist therefrom; and I call upon all good citizens and upon all the authorities, civil and military, to aid in suppressing the same and in preventing breaches of the peace. The law recognizes and protects the right of

all men to refuse to work except upon terms satisfactory to themselves, but it does not permit them to prevent other men from working who desire to do so. Unless the State is to be given up to anarchy, and its courts and laws are to be defied with impunity, its whole power must be exerted to suppress violence, maintain order and protect its citizens in their right to work and the business of the country from lawless interruption within our borders. It is no longer a question of wages, but of the supremacy of the law, which protects alike the lives, the liberty, the property and the rights of all classes of citizens. To the maintenance of that supremacy the whole power of the State will be invoked if necessary.

Given under my hand, at the city of Elmira, in the State of New York, this twenty-second day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

L. ROBINSON.

By the Governor:

D. C. ROBINSON, *Private Secretary.*

Orders were despatched from Albany to the 23d (of Brooklyn) and the 74th (of Buffalo) Regiments of the National Guard of the State of New York to proceed at once to Hornellsville to sustain the authorities. Later on the 54th Regiment, from Rochester, was ordered to the same place.

The companies of the 54th were the first to reach Hornellsville. They arrived at that place on the evening of the 21st, about four or five hundred strong. The crowd of railroad men surrounding the trains upon their arrival immediately began shaking hands with acquaintances and gave the soldiers a warm welcome, carrying pails of water along the train. By nine o'clock the company's grounds surrounding the depot and railroad shops were in full possession of the mili-

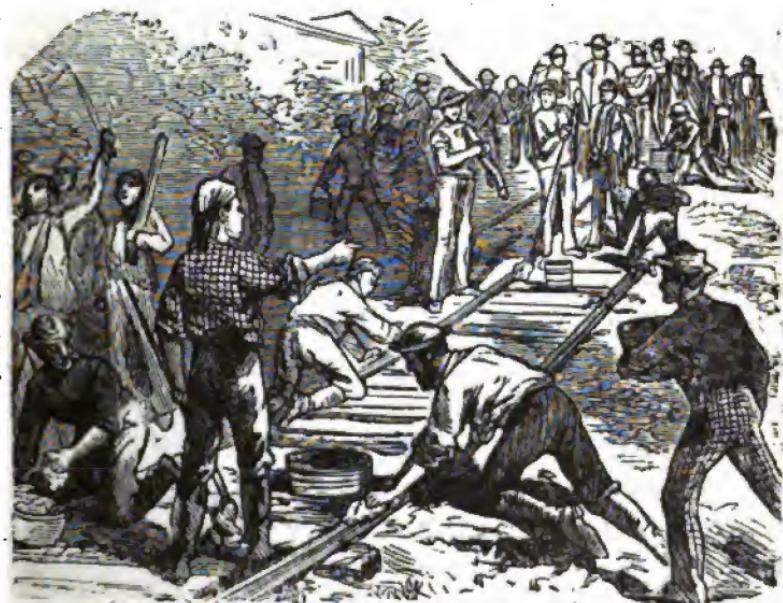
tary authorities under command of Major-General Henry Brinker. The two pieces of artillery were put in position at the rear of the company's shops, and guards were stationed around the northern half of the yard, on which the shops and depot are located. As the company did not attempt to start out a train, there was no demonstration made by the men engaged in the strike, and good order and quiet prevailed throughout the town. The committee representing the men at the beginning of the strike served a notice on all the liquor dealers forbidding them to sell liquor to railroad men. The President of the village also issued a proclamation to the same effect. This, together with the fact that a large number of railroad men signed the Murphy temperance pledge last spring, is believed to account for the quiet existing under such exciting circumstances. No marked demonstration was made by the men until twenty minutes past nine on the morning of the 22d.

The strikers had informed the railroad officials that they would not interfere with the mails, but that no passenger or freight trains should pass over the road. On the morning of the 22d, the railroad officials, nearly all of whom had gathered at Hornellsville, determined to attempt to run a passenger train westward from Hornellsville. An engine with a postal car attached was coupled to two passenger coaches. The latter were occupied by J. S. Biggs, Superintendent of the Western division, a squad of soldiers and two or three passengers. Soldiers were stationed on the platform of each car, two were also posted in the engineer's cab. The train then started from the yard guarded for some distance by soldiers stationed on both sides of the track. At Cass street crossing, a short distance beyond, a man

RIOTERS ATTACKING A TRAIN AT HORNETSVILLE, ON JULY 22D.



attempted to board one of the cars, but he was driven back by the soldiers, who used the butt-end of their pieces. From this post, for a distance of about fifty rods, to West street crossing, the track was covered with soft soap. The driving wheels began to slip, and the engineer threw sand on the track, but this was insufficient to give a headway of over five miles an hour.



RIOTERS SOAPING THE TRACK OF THE ERIE RAILROAD, NEAR HORNELLSVILLE.

When the train reached West street crossing, about two hundred of the men were assembled. Here railroad torpedoes were thrown under the driving wheels of the engine, but still the train moved on. Men seemed to be reaching the ground from all quarters and by hundreds ran alongside the train. Suddenly it parted between the baggage car and passenger coach, and as the men saw the victory was theirs, with a shout they

took possession of the two coaches as they came to a standstill and rendered the brakes useless. The soldiers and passengers were ordered out of the cars and obeyed, while the men, with cheers, shoved the cars back into the yard, and the soldiers marched back to the depot. The engine and postal car went on toward Dunkirk.

Half an hour later the company started out train No. 7 on the Buffalo division, also guarded by soldiers. As the engine and tender switched off on the Buffalo track, the engine was boarded by the men. Some pushed the soldiers' guns aside and climbed up to the tender; others jumped on the pilot and went over the top of the engine to the cab, when they ordered the fireman, who was an extra man, to get off. After a short parley he was taken from the engine and the engineer ran the train back into the yard, the men cheering as before. The crowd of seven or eight hundred men suddenly melted away, and during the remainder of the day there was no disturbance, as the railroad company made no further efforts to run their trains.

The strikers were very determined, and were prepared for a desperate resistance to the civil and military forces. They had a camp in the woods near Hornellsville, and were well supplied with small arms and ammunition, besides having two pieces of cannon. They were well organized, and their movements were directed by a man named Bernard J. Donahue. After the arrest of this man and his confinement in Ludlow street jail, in New York city, after the close of the strike, a reporter of the New York *Tribune* visited him, and wrote as follows respecting him :

He seemed to be indifferent to his position before the courts, except that he was evidently pleased with the notoriety which it has brought him. No casual observer would select him as the head of a railroad strike, everything about him betokening a follower rather than a leader. This view was supported by the deputy warden of Ludlow street jail, who stated that when Donahue was brought in, he thought Detective Brown was the striker, because Brown was over six feet in height, and rather ferocious-looking, and he could scarcely realize that a small fellow like Donahue could create so much disturbance to a great railway corporation. Donahue is a man about five feet seven inches in height, with sandy moustache and hair. His eyes are sharp, restless, and clearly observant. He is a fluent talker, and has received a fair common school education. His right hand is crippled, and his left leg is shorter than the right, which gives him a very perceptible limp. These imperfections, Donahue states, are the result of nearly twenty-five years service on the Erie road as a brakeman. His leg was fractured in an accident on the Susquehanna division, and his hand was crushed in a "smash-up" on the Northern Central division, near Canandaigua last winter; inflammatory rheumatism set in, and further crippled him. He was placed on the extra-brakeman list, and managed to perform service enough each month to pay his board.

Concerning the strike Donahue said to the reporter that on Thursday, July 19th, while in Hornellsville, where he lived, he received several letters from brakemen and firemen employed on the Eastern divisions of the Erie road, complaining that the committee-men who had presented grievances to Receiver Jewett had been discharged, and giving notice that they desired the matter to be taken up and acted upon by the general body at Hornellsville. He complied with their request, and in the evening a meeting of the Brotherhoods of Firemen, Engineers, and Brakemen was held, and it was decided to make a formal demand for the restora-

tion of the committeemen, and in case of a refusal on the part of the company, all employés were to quit work. "I was selected as chairman of the committee of general arrangements, without any solicitation on my part," added Donahue, "and no one was more surprised at it than I was. I accepted the trust, determined to perform my full duty by the boys, and I don't think any of them will charge me with deserting them. The matter was well matured, and all our plans were laid for a strike that would leave the road without any help. The engineers indorsed our action, and pledged themselves to join us as soon as it was definitely known that the company refused to reinstate the committeemen. At the supreme moment they failed us, and while many of them stood ready to leave their engines, the majority broke through the resolution, and remained loyal to the road, though in full sympathy with us."

When inquiry was made as to payment for his services as leader, Donahue responded: "It was agreed that I was to receive full pay as a brakeman, or \$2 a day and all necessary expenses. It was further understood that all matters pertaining to a settlement of the troubles were to be left entirely in my hands, the boys agreeing to abide by any agreement within the bounds of reason and justice that I should make.

"The conductors were not invited to join in the strike," Donahue said, "because they were mere nonentities, as anybody could fill the position, and conductors could be made by a mere scratch of the pen. Practical 'railroaders,' like firemen, brakemen and engineers had to be educated to the work, and it was dangerous to the property of a road to put 'green hands' in such responsible positions." As to the number of employés pledged to participate in the strike, Donahue stated over 12,000 was the number that was relied upon on the Erie. At Hornellsville alone he said there were 2,500 men ready for action when the necessity demanded. "Only a few of them were ever

seen in the city," he added, "the great bulk being scattered about the woods and on the inmountains, where they subsisted on such food as could be secured in town and conveyed to them. This consisted of crackers, cakes, pies, and occasionally a little meat. They could have been rallied at short notice, and would have made a rather formidable army when gathered in one mass. The boys were well fixed as far as small arms are concerned, and could have made a creditable defence."

The first detachment of the 23d regiment, nearly 400 strong, reached Hornellsville on the 23d. This brought the military force at that place to a strength of about 1,200 men. The rioters numbered about 2,000 men.

About noon on the 23d, a committee of strikers waited on the railway officials to state their grievances. The chairman of the committee made a general statement of the causes which forced the men to strike, and said they had received orders not to commit depredation. They proposed to stop the trains, but not to do violence.

He then submitted the following, as the terms which he thought the men would accept and go to work. The wages demanded are just about the same as the company now pay under the ten per cent. reduction. The brakemen are willing to go to work at the ten per cent. reduction, provided the train men are paid for any overtime that they may make in being ordered out and being abandoned; also any overtime which they may make while being delayed upon the road, to be paid for at the same rate per day; overrate per day to be \$1.80. The trackmen in the Hornellsville yard to receive \$1.50 per day, and be paid for overtime at the same rate; the trackmen on sections outside of the yard to

receive \$1.40 per day, and to pay no rentals for their houses, except as they may agree with the company. The switchmen to accept the ten per cent. reduction, on consideration that ten hours shall constitute a day's work, and all overtime to be paid for at the same rate per hour—\$1.80 and \$2.05 per day. The firemen to accept the ten per cent. reduction on consideration that their several pay shall be \$1.60, \$1.92, \$2.03 and \$2.14, and that all firemen shall be promoted according to age. Coal passers to be paid the same as before.

Superintendent Bowen said he was glad to see them make an effort for peace, but assured them that the receiver would not go to work upon other terms than he had announced; that the company could not accede to the demands presented. The committee then asked if the committeemen, who had been discharged, would be restored to their former places if the men went to work. Assistant Receiver Sherman replied that they would not. The committee then retired, being escorted through the lines.

Later in the day the following notice was received and published:

ERIE RAILWAY COMPANY, }
RECEIVER'S OFFICE. }

General Order.

The receiver fully appreciates the fidelity of his officers, agents, and men who have remained true to their duty in the present emergency, and such fidelity will not fail to be properly recognized. No compromise will be made with, and no concession will be made to, those misguided men who are, have been, or may be false to their trust, and violators of the law. And all persons are warned that no one has the right to represent or speak for the receiver, except his regular

officers. Any other person pretending to do so is an impostor. The receiver is induced to believe that the large majority of the employés now neglecting their duty are acting under the coercion and terror of lawless and desperate men, most of whom are strangers, and have never been in his service. All well-disposed employés will be protected.

H. J. JEWETT, *Receiver.*

From Hornellsville the disturbance spread rapidly along the line of the Erie Railway. Port Jervis, Corning, Painted Post, Buffalo, and other points were affected, and the Erie brakemen and firemen at all these places joined the strike and stopped the running of the trains.

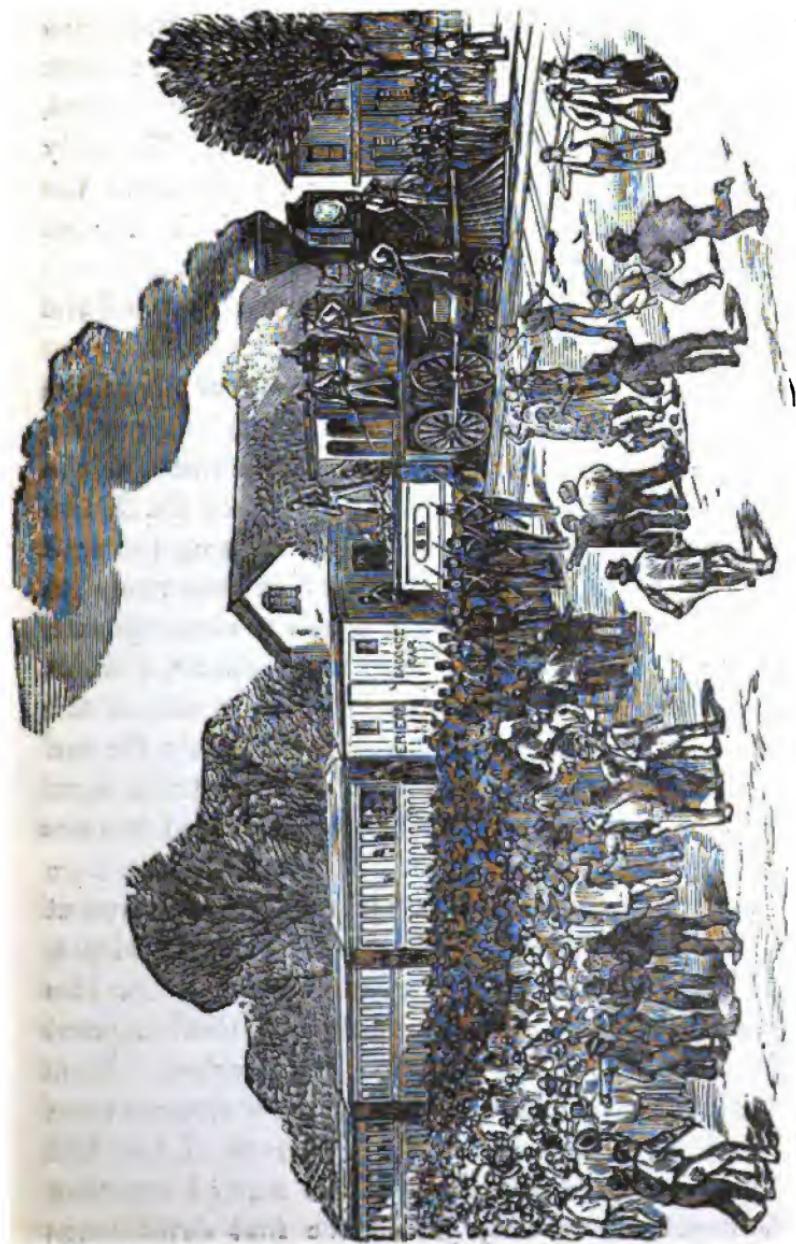
At Buffalo the strikers were exceedingly violent. Early in the afternoon of the 23d, an assault was made by nearly two thousand rioters on about two hundred soldiers who were guarding the Lake Shore round house. The military were obliged to leave the building, which was now barricaded by the mob, who had placed cars in position as defence against an attack. Colonel Flach, of the 65th Regiment, with about thirty men and three officers, proceeded to the round house to retake it from the mob. They were met with yells of derision from the crowd, and, under a shower of stones, were obliged to retreat at the double-quick, and force their way through the yelling crowd at the point of the bayonet, some of the soldiers being badly cut on the hands with knives, and also clubbed. Four of the soldiers lost their muskets, which, however, were afterward recovered. Colonel Flach was badly clubbed, twice knocked down, forced across the canal, and obliged to take refuge in the Lake Shore paint shop.

The Erie strikers did not confine their lawlessness to their own road, but invaded the shops of the Lake Shore and New York Central roads, and forced the men to stop work, and prevented the movements of all freight and stock trains in the depot yard. The Lake Shore men joined in the strike, as we shall see, but the men of the New York Central road showed no disposition to do so.

A meeting of citizens was summoned by the timid Mayor of Buffalo, but it was slimly attended, and was captured by the strikers, whereupon it was adjourned by the Mayor.

In the meantime the second detachment of the 23d Regiment left Brooklyn on the afternoon of the 23d of July, and reached Elmira shortly after seven o'clock on the morning of the 24th, under the command of Major Alfred C. Barnes. At this point Major Barnes was warned that the strikers along the road would endeavor to stop the progress of the train, and accordingly stationed guards on the engine and tender, and on the platforms of the cars. These men were ordered not to fire without cause, but to see that the train was not interfered with.

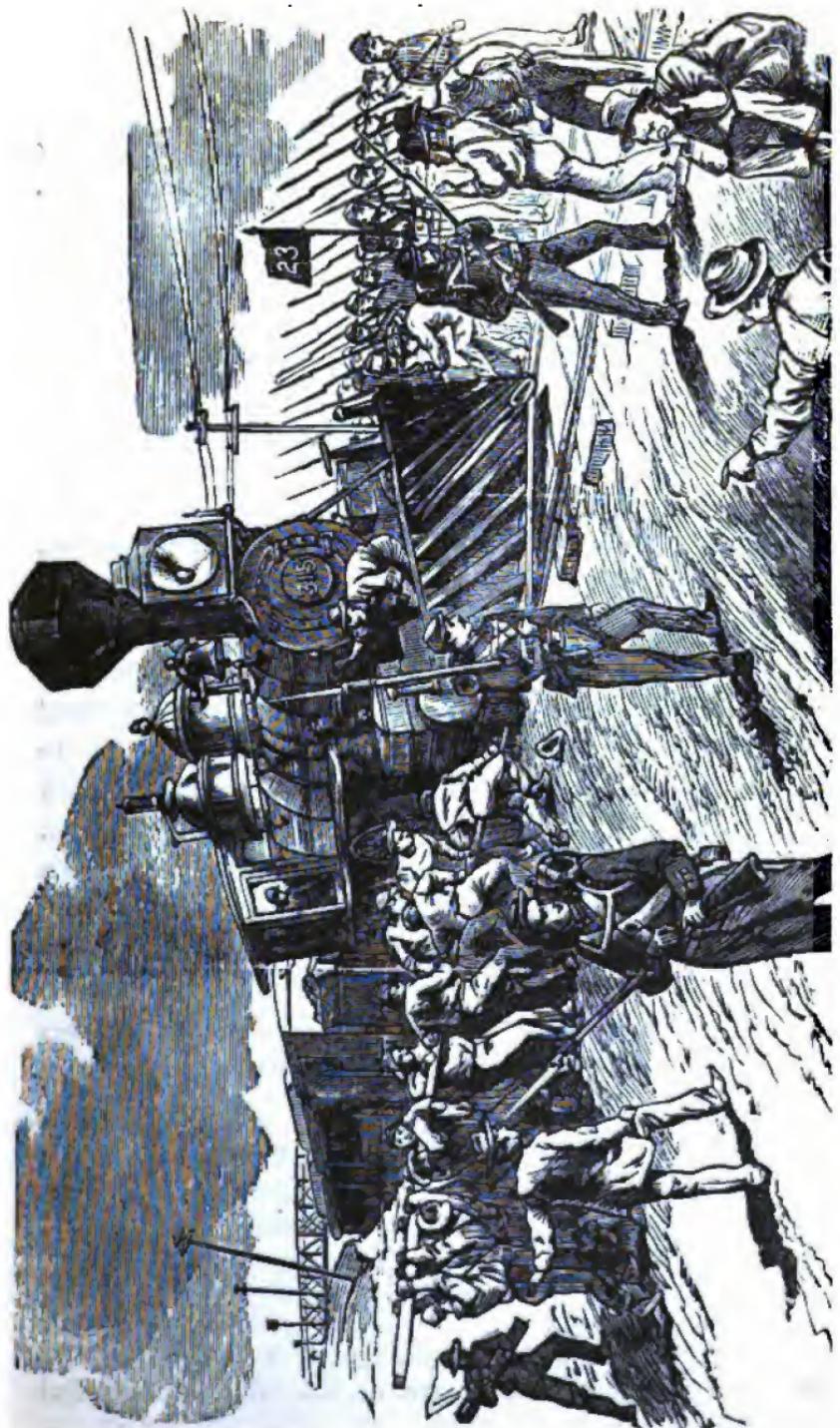
The train left Elmira at 9 o'clock, and reached Corning at 10.23 A. M. Several rioters attempted to board the train, but were quickly forced off by the guards. About one hundred of them gathered around the train, gesticulating and hooting, but making no further demonstration of violence. As the train moved past the depot, the rioters rushed ahead, and turned the switch. The engine was moving so slowly, however, that the train was at once stopped. The mob now hastened up the track and blockaded it by over-



RIOTERS STOPPING THE TRAIN CONTAINING THE SECOND DETACHMENT OF THE 23D REGIMENT, N. G.
S. N. Y. AT CORNING, N. Y.

turning a baggage car upon it. Several locomotives were also injured. The fireman of the troop train now deserted his engine and joined the mob. The track was torn up for a short distance by the rioters, and the advance of the troop train was effectually stopped. At several points higher up the road the track was torn up, and cars were overturned. A construction party was at once organized, and, under the protection of the troops, the track was relaid and the overturned cars righted.

The train moved on slowly, at the rate of about one mile per hour, in order to protect the working parties, and reached Painted Post about four o'clock in the afternoon. The strikers were at this time about two miles ahead of the train, and were damaging the road as fast as was possible. Every effort was made to repair the track and enable the troops to come up with the rioters. So successful were these efforts, that at half-past four the troops were within half a mile of the rioters. A strong detachment was immediately thrown out, which, moving rapidly ahead of the train, soon came up with the rioters as they were engaged in tearing up the rails. At the sight of the troops the strikers fled to the woods. The damage to the track was at once repaired, and the train passed on to Addison, which was reached at five o'clock P. M. From this place no farther trouble was experienced until a point half a mile below Hornellsville was reached. Here the engine, tender and baggage car were thrown from the track by a loosened rail. The men of the 23d left the cars about seven o'clock P. M., and marched to the depot, where they joined the first detachment of their command.



THE CONSTRUCTION GANG RIGHTING OVERTURNED CARS AT CORNING, NEW YORK, UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE FED REGIMENT.

In consequence of the presence of so strong a military force at Hornellsville, there was no disturbance at that place on the 24th. Donahue, the leader of the strikers, was arrested and held by the civil authorities. No effort was made to rescue him.

All through the 24th there was great excitement at Buffalo, but there was no outbreak. About 600 militia and two batteries of artillery, besides 300 policemen, were held in readiness to move upon the mob at any moment.

On the night of the 24th an attempt was made to fire the bridge of the Erie Railroad over the Neversink river, at Port Jervis. Precautionary measures were taken by the company at the commencement of the disturbances, an increased number of watchmen being stationed at this bridge. This fact undoubtedly saved it from destruction, as the next morning a five gallon can of kerosene oil was discovered under the bridge, placed in such a position that its ignition would have carried the flames to the wood-work of the bridge.

It is supposed that the incendiaries became alarmed before the completion of their arrangements, and thinking that they were discovered, fled, leaving the oil behind them. The guards at that point were increased to prevent further trouble.

A letter from Port Jervis, on the 25th, said :

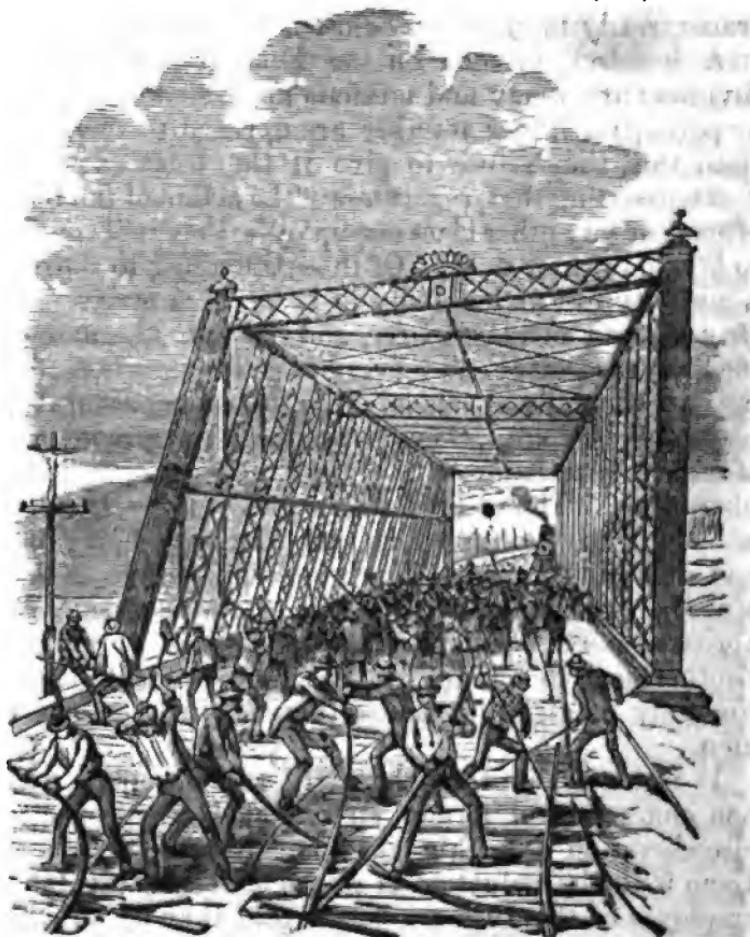
A spirit of maliciousness has developed itself that was not manifested at the outbreaking of the troubles. Rails are torn up, and obstructions of every conceivable kind placed on the track. Along the Delaware division several attempts to wreck trains have been made, but additional watchmen are employed, and thus far no damage has been done. An extra engine is de-

spatched ahead of trains to see if the track is all right, and they run at a less rate of speed than usual. On the engines of the trains passing through the turbulent section of the country sharp-shooters are placed, and they are ready for any emergency. At all stations a force of sheriff's deputies are on hand on the arrival of trains, ready to check any riotous movement.

A hundred firemen on the Eastern and Delaware divisions are ready and anxious for a strike; an equal, or perhaps a larger number are opposed to one; more than this, they refuse to give it the least encouragement, asserting that, regardless of the action of the Brotherhood, or any other class of employés, they will continue to attend to their duty. Of those belonging to the order a majority are undoubtedly in favor of a strike. The Brotherhood meets nightly, and though the men are pledged to secrecy, and every possible effort is made to prevent the railway officials from obtaining accurate reports of their doings, they are unable to restrain members of the organization from disclosing the results of their deliberations. The last few meetings have been disorderly in the extreme, violent language being used, and recriminations and charges of unfaithfulness to the order being of common occurrence. Representatives from abroad have made inflammatory speeches, urging the Brotherhood to action; but the more prudent ones see the folly of striking unless there is unity among the men.

It is noticeable that the spirit and discipline which has characterized former strikes at Hornellsville and elsewhere on the Erie road is wanting in this one. Even with the reduction of wages as made July 1st the employés on this road are better paid than on any other line. Public sentiment does not sustain them in this strike, which is without a shadow of excuse. The men have been drawn into it by a sympathetic feeling for the strikers elsewhere, and not because of any real grievances of their own which need be atoned for. It

is therefore judged that the difficulties on the Erie are not deep rooted, and at the prospects of a suspension of the strikes elsewhere, or a victory over the strikers at Hornellsville, the disaffection on the line will soon subside.



RIOTERS TEARING UP RAILS AT THE BRIDGE AT CORNING,
NEW YORK.

On the 25th Governor Robinson issued the following proclamation, warning the strikers of the consequences of their interference with the railroads :

Proclamation by the Governor.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, July 25th, 1877.

I deem it my duty to invite the special attention of all the citizens of this State, and especially of such persons as are now attempting to interfere by unlawful means with the running of railway trains, to the following act passed by the Legislature at its last session:

CHAPTER 261.—An Act to Punish Trespassing on Railroads; passed May 10th, 1877:

The people of the State of New York represented in Senate and Assembly do enact as follows:

SECTION 1.—Any person who shall wilfully place any obstruction upon any railroad, or loosen, tear up, or remove any part of a railroad, or displace, tamper or in any way interfere with any switches, frogs, rail, track or other part of any railroad, so as to endanger the safety of any train, or who shall wilfully throw any stone or other missile at any train on any railroad, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by imprisonment in a State prison, not exceeding ten years, or be liable to a fine not exceeding \$1,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 2.—This act shall take effect immediately.

I warn all persons engaged in the violation of the above law to desist therefrom, and I call upon all sheriffs, magistrates, district attorneys and other civil officers, and upon all good citizens to aid in the enforcement of the said law, and of the punishment of all who are guilty of its violation, and I hereby offer a reward of \$500, to be paid upon the arrest and conviction of each and every person who shall be guilty of a violation of the said act. The failure or omission of any sheriff, district attorney or other civil officer to take the most active steps in his power to enforce the provisions of this act will be considered sufficient cause for his removal.

L. ROBINSON.

By the Governor: D. C. ROBINSON, Private Secretary.

This proclamation had a happy effect in all parts of the State, and especially upon the line of the Erie Rail-

road. The offer of a reward was certain to sow discord in the ranks of the rioters, and convert some of them into informers.

The correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing from Corning, on the 25th of July, said of the state of affairs at that time :

Since the strikers adopted the Fabian policy which has characterized their actions this week the confidence of their opponents has risen considerably, and it is confidently asserted by a good many people that if the company undertakes to run trains through, it can be done without opposition. This theory is based on the fact that the westward-bound train which left Hornellsville this morning met with few obstacles. It was not allowed to pass with absolute freedom, however, and if another train had followed it, obstructions would have been found where they were least expected. A special privilege seems to have been accorded to the train to-day, and this immunity, I believe, was entirely owing to the fact that it carried Barney Donahue, the leader of the Hornellsville strikers, who has been summoned to appear before Judge Donahue, in Supreme Court Chambers, on Friday. To this man, more than any other, is due the completeness and effectiveness of the strike. He organized it, not only at Hornellsville, but throughout the western division of the Erie Railroad. He managed it in his own way, establishing his head-quarters with all the confidence of a military chieftain taking command of his forces. His orders were the law of the strikers, and possibly the cause of the strike. He showed himself as much a favorite among the trackmen, brakemen and firemen on the road, as was Jack Kehoe, the king of the Mollies, among the miners of the anthracite region. And as Kehoe was not a miner, so Donahue, properly speaking, was not a railroader. Sometimes he served as a brakeman, but then it was only as a substitute; and once he

kept a saloon. His real business was that of the "timer," or "buyer of time," and he made large profits out of the people whose champion he now is, by advancing them money at a high interest—as much as fifteen per cent. some say—in anticipation of the paymaster. When the strike which impended because of the reduction of wages at the beginning of the present month was ordered, Donahue was made chairman of the committee having the matter in charge. In this way he naturally became the leader when the strike actually came; and more than this, it may be said that the strike was of his own creation.

So far as I have seen very little has been said of the origin of the strike on the Erie. It will be remembered that the July reduction was acquiesced in by the men, the only condition being that all persons who had taken part in fomenting a strike should be retained by the company. This was agreed to, but it was not long until two members of the committee which had gone to New York in regard to the matter were discharged. It was believed other dismissals would follow. In the excitement and exasperation of the moment it was easy to precipitate a strike where none had been intended. At such a time the influence of a man like Donahue was much to be dreaded, and the sequel showed what great consequences may spring from a single act of injustice and bad faith when a resolute man determines to employ it for his own purposes. When the strike began at Hornellsville, few even of the firemen and brakemen knew it was impending. Donahue informed some of them within the very hour when it took place. Only a handful of men, compared with these who struck, were actually in the secret; but this little band was composed of daring and reckless fellows, who were determined to have their own way for once. From the very beginning they carried everything before them, and even the military has been powerless against them. No trains were al-

lowed to go west of Hornellsville, and but few passed between Hornellsville and this place. Naturally enough it was thought desirable to arrest the ring-leader in such a struggle, and accordingly Barney Donahue was placed under arrest. This was considered no great misfortune by the strikers, or even by Donahue himself, as there were legal questions upon which the Brotherhoods desired the ruling of the courts, and this was considered a favorable opportunity. Donahue accordingly took the matter quietly, and when bail was demanded he failed to supply it, so that the authorities should be compelled to convey him to New York. No rescue was even contemplated, and indeed I believe the men who are most earnest in the strike did everything in their power to facilitate his journey. When I found that he was really going, I determined to drive down the road in the wake of the train to see what progress they made. It was hours after the train left Hornellsville that I followed, but when I reached Canisteo, only five miles away, I found I was not very far behind. A coal car had been thrown across the track at that place which had caused delay, and it seemed likely that there were other similar obstructions all along the road, as it was then about noon and the train had not yet reached Cameron, which is only eighteen miles from Hornellsville. If the obstructions continued I was certain I could overtake the train long before it reached Corning, and so I went forward on my painful journey, questioning all the wayfarers I chanced to meet. All of them had seen the train. One reported it as moving very slowly in the direction of Cameron. Another said when he saw it it was at a standstill at the bridge above that village. Another had seen it going forward below the bridge, but very cautiously. I went on, and when I reached Cameron I learned by telegraph that it had just entered Corning. I had been assured on very good authority that this particular train would not be seriously molested. It

was then a question with me whether I should return to Hornellsville or go forward in search of the strikers who were successful in trapping the train yesterday. Nothing of any moment was taking place behind me, and so I concluded to go forward. On I went, past Addison and almost to the village of Painted Post before I saw anything or anybody which would reward one for so much tedious journeying.



THE SOLDIER BOYS BIDDING GOOD-BYE TO THEIR SWEETHEARTS.

As I drove up to a roadside inn, called Erwin's, I descried a group of men, eight or ten in number, sitting in front of that tavern. They were smoking, and all of them seemed in great good humor. I had struck a bonanza. These were the men who had attempted to seize the train at this place yesterday, and who had turned the switch, disabled the switch engine, obstructed the track and removed the rail from the bridge. They told me, with frankness and apparent truth, that, all

told, there were only fifteen of them, and they alone had done all the mischief of the day, impeding the trains for miles, until they were compelled to desist from exhaustion.

"What are you doing here?" I asked. "Only resting," one of them answered.

"But you mustn't give us away when you reach Corning." "Certainly not," I replied; "but are you now going to stop this work in which you have been so successful?"

"Not a bit of it," they cried in chorus. "Not until the company gives in to a compromise to which we can agree."

"Where are you going next, then?" I asked, not expecting an answer, but getting it so fully and unaffectedly that I knew there could be no doubt about it. "We are going back to Hornellsville," said one of them, "to see the committee and begin over again. We seized an engine there and came down to Corning to do some of the work. When we get back to Cameron it is likely we shall get another engine for the rest of the journey. We hear that the road west is a wreck. We will make this part of it a wreck also if the company doesn't yield."

When I told them Barney Donahue was on the train which had just gone down they expressed no surprise and made no comments, but seemed anxious to learn about the interest which had been shown at Hornellsville in the capture of the engine, and for whom arrest warrants had been issued. The youthfulness of the men struck me even more than their reckless frankness, but as to their identity there could be no doubt, for I had seen one or two of them when the rush was made for the engine yesterday, and I had other reasons for knowing them.

As I drove away one of them cried out after me, "Don't give us away at Corning, mind, and we will make things lively up this way."

Feeling themselves strong enough to enforce the law, the civil authorities at Hornellsville now determined to open the Erie Railroad to traffic, and to arrest the more prominent of the rioters. It was decided to enforce the law, even should a conflict with the rioters be necessary; and the 26th of July was fixed as the day on which the effort was to be made. In the meantime several prominent gentlemen of the place exerted themselves to bring about a settlement and avert the necessity of using force. Foremost in these efforts was Miles Hawley, Esq., counsel for the employés of the railroad.

Warrants were issued by Judges Donahue, of New York, and Ramsay, of Bath, for the arrest of over one hundred of the rioters, and the 23d Regiment was assigned the duty of supporting the civil officers in making these arrests. Orders were issued for the regiment to be ready to move at six o'clock A. M. on the 26th. The Gatling guns were prepared for immediate use, and the regiment fully counted upon a sharp conflict with the mob.

The railroad officials had a number of detectives among the rioters, and every movement of the strikers was known, as well as the location of their various camps. Few of the rioters were seen in Hornellsville, or in the immediate vicinity of their camps, but at a given signal they could have assembled at least 900 men. On a hillside overlooking the military and railroad head-quarters their outposts could be distinctly seen by day, and at night scores of moving lanterns gave evidence of their vigilance and activity. In different portions of the woods, and not remote from the line of the road, they had over half a dozen camps,

which had been provisioned by plundering the freight cars in the depot yard at the beginning of the strike.

The strikers' camps would have been surrounded early on the morning of the 26th, but during the night of the 25th a settlement was effected between the railroad officials and the rioters.

On the night of the 25th a committee of strikers had a consultation with Superintendent Bowen, of the Erie Railroad. The trackmen complained of an extra three per cent. demanded by the bosses of the gang, making their total reduction thirteen per cent., while all other employés were called upon to submit to a reduction of only ten per cent. Mr. Bowen informed the men that he had not heard of this before, and assured them that it should not occur again, and gave a further assurance that all such improper and unauthorized assessments should be refunded by those who had collected and appropriated them. This gave satisfaction to this class of strikers, and they declared that had they known that this was not ordered by the managers of the road, they would not have quit work. None of the men claimed a restoration of wages to the terms in force prior to July 1st, because they said that they had discussed that matter fully at the time, and had almost unanimously acceded to it, knowing that their wages were more liberal than those of any other railroad men of their grade in the country. The next point submitted was immunity from arrest and prosecution, or discharge from the road on account of the strike. Mr. Bowen stated that he was willing to accede to this as far as those were concerned who had uncoupled cars and removed bolts, or where tracks were obstructed on the Buffalo & Dunkirk Divisions,



LADIES NURMING SUNSTRUCK SOLDIERS.

but those who had perilled life by obstructing passenger trains were criminals, and deserved the severest punishment known to the law. The committee yielded this point, and only demanded immunity for all other strikers.

The most difficult part in the controversy came next, a demand that the discharged members of the Committee on Grievances be reinstated. Mr. Taylor, Division Superintendent, was called in, and stated that these men asked leave of absence to visit New York and lay their grievances before Receiver Jewett, and he refused, supposing it was a private matter, and not the regular action of the Brotherhood. They then told him they would go anyhow, and were informed by him that they would do so at their peril, and he discharged them. This was necessary in order to maintain discipline; and while he was free to admit that they were good railroad men and efficient in their positions, rather than be forced to reinstate them by the strikers, he would resign his position. If, however, he added, they would leave the matter in his hands, while he would not promise to employ them, he would say that he would deal fairly and justly in the premises. The committee were not satisfied with this view of the matter, and claimed that these men had a direct promise from Receiver Jewett that they should not be discharged for calling upon him and presenting their grievances. Mr. Taylor responded that they were discharged for deserting their posts, and he claimed that his position was correct, and he would not consent to be driven from it. The point was finally compromised by the citizens of Hornellsville agreeing to support the committee until employment could be secured, and

Mr. Bowen giving a pledge that hereafter committees should be permitted to present grievances, when appointed by the Brotherhood, and not be discharged for it.

The next demand of the strikers was for the release of Donahue, their leader in the strike. Mr. MacFarland, counsel of the road, was consulted on this matter, and he advised that no promise should be given, inasmuch as Donahue was in the hands of the courts, and any pledge such as was demanded, would be compounding a felony. It was finally agreed that the prosecution of Donahue should not be pushed by the railroad company. The demand for employés' passes when the men were travelling on trains other than their own was acceded to without discussion; and on this basis a settlement was made. Some of the more hot-headed strikers were not contented with the settlement, and passed a resolution instructing the committee not to furnish the full agreement to the press, "as," one of them said, "we have not made a successful strike, but have unconditionally surrendered."

At six o'clock on the morning of the 26th, the guards were withdrawn from the railroad yards, and over seven hundred strikers returned to work. The people of Hornellsville were aroused from their slumbers by the whistling of twenty locomotives, the incessant movement of cars, and repairs of the track, and there was great rejoicing everywhere. An examination of the freight cars by the railroad officials showed that most of them had been broken open and plundered of everything in the shape of food. Superintendent Bowen estimated that the loss to the Erie Railroad by the strike, through the delay of passenger and freight

trains, support of the soldiers, breakage, wrecks, and articles stolen, would exceed \$2,000,000.

The State authorities in the mean time had stationed detachments of troops at the prominent points on the Erie Railroad to protect it, but the settlement of the strike at Hornellsville being generally accepted by the men on the road, there was no collision between any of these bodies of troops and the strikers. By the 27th, the business of the road was resumed. A feeble effort was made at Buffalo, on the 26th, by a few discontented strikers, to stop the Elmira mail train, but was promptly checked by the police.

The New York *Tribune's* correspondent, writing from Hornellsville on the 28th, made the following comments on the strike :

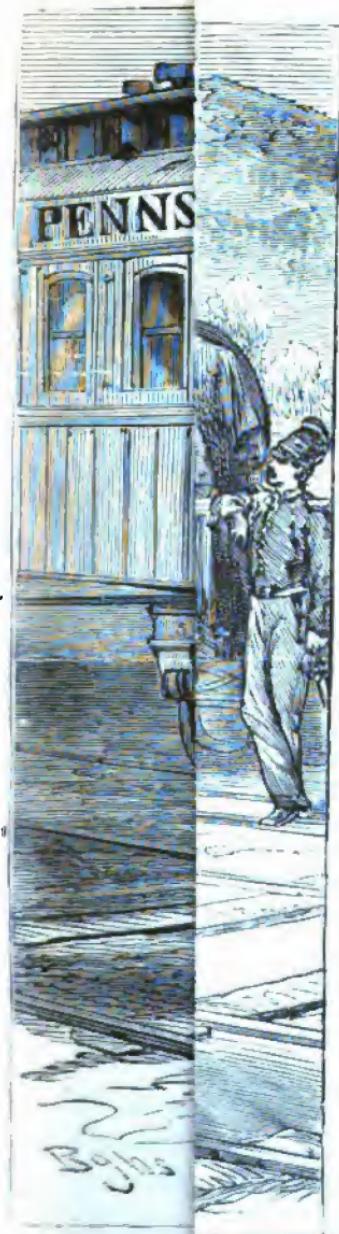
Now that the strike on the Erie Railway is ended, a few observations may not be out of place. The strike could easily have been checked when it was begun, had the company started right. The firemen, who formed the largest portion of the strikers, had no real ground for retiring from their posts. They claim that long years of service on the road did not guarantee promotion, and that frequently new men would be made engineers, their appointment being brought about by favoritism at head-quarters; and yet in the settlement not a word was said regarding this grievance. The brakemen make a similar complaint, and allege no other reason for their disaffection. The conductors and engineers did not strike in a body; but that they were in full sympathy with their co-laborers who quit work was made apparent. Passes were issued at military head-quarters with great freedom, particularly to what were termed "loyal" employees. These granted a small army of conductors, engineers and brakemen safe passage through the lines at any time, and it was a no-

rious fact that the engineers were particularly friendly with the strikers, and they associated freely with them when in the city. Head-quarter intelligence, which was frequently kept from the press correspondents, to prevent disclosure, was known among the strikers; and, in fact, more trustworthy information of the movements of the soldiers could be gathered from Donahue and the other leaders of the mob, than from department clerks or the railroad officials. It became apparent to the latter early in the campaign that the camp was full of spies, but precisely who they were was never fully ascertained.

At first it was determined to exclude the rioters from telegraph facilities, and their messages were filed away. Answers failing to come, a committee waited on the military authorities, and informed them that unless their despatches were promptly forwarded and answers returned, the wires would be cut, and all telegraphic communication be cut off, and the strikers thus forced a concession to their demands. From the very first, there was altogether too yielding a disposition manifested by the railroad officials, and committees of strikers could secure a conference at any time. The 54th Regiment, it was openly charged, was in full sympathy with the mob, and one of the 23d pickets informed me that he saw the rioters approach and hold conversation with the night patrol, and in one instance, at three o'clock in the morning, a sergeant received whiskey and cigars from them and divided them among his guard. After this discovery the 23d was placed in charge of the pickets, and all further communication was cut off. The citizens supported the mob, and only when the stores run out of provisions, and all avenues for fresh supplies were cut off, did the city officials wake up to the emergency, and put forth exertions to secure a settlement of the difficulty. At no time was a proclamation issued by the president of the village, and the police force was not increased. The sheriff

swore in a large posse of specials, mostly from distant towns, but they complained that their efficiency was impaired by the spies giving information to the strikers of their every movement. Bar-rooms were open from 7 A. M. until 1 A. M., but drunkenness was almost entirely unknown, and to this fact alone is due the avoidance of open rupture.

Had the military been ordered early in the campaign to break up the camps of the strikers and march them under guard to head-quarters, the strike could have been ended in twenty-four hours, and a million of dollars could have been saved. On the Dunkirk division, the strikers made extensive arrangements to prevent the passage of trains. The grade at this point is so steep that only fifteen freight cars can be carried on one train. At the summit the strikers had placed a long oil train, and gave notice that upon the attempt to send a passenger or freight train over this division they would fire the oil and start the train. The result would have been the destruction of every car in the yards, as well as the town itself, as by the time it reached Hornellsville the speed of the train would have been at least seventy miles an hour. To avoid a calamity of this character, the company sent out a train of wreckers and tore up two miles of track and ties, which the strikers regarded as a ruse, and the remainder of the road on this division was unmolested. Entirely too much leniency was shown to the mob, and the managers of the road manifested entirely too strong a disposition to be interviewed by and grant concessions to the strikers. Hard blows and no interviews would have put a speedy end to the strike at this point, and the moral effect would have been far more valuable to other roads similarly situated. As a final result of the strike, but little concession was made by the road, but it was considered enough to permit the strikers to resume work. Many of the most demonstrative are far from satisfied with the result, and they openly boast



GOV. HAR_{BURGH.}

that, should any of the strikers be discharged, or the managers prove faithless to their written pledges, a strike of far larger proportions will be begun; but the general opinion is that this is but an idle boast. The trackmen were more fortunate in securing full terms than any other class of malcontents. They are now guaranteed full possession of their shanties, free of rent, by simply acknowledging the title of the road to the real estate, and as they erected the buildings, they can remove them whenever discharged. This, and three per cent. reduction in salary, was all they demanded, and both points were conceded. As a whole, the strike, as far as results are concerned, may be considered a double victory, both sides making concessions.

One of the most ludicrous features of the strike at this point was the action of the waiter-girls at the depot lunch-rooms, who, out of sympathy for their riotous lovers and husbands, refused to wait upon "murderous soldiers;" and as they marched out of camp in a body, with their bundles of clothing under their arms, amid the laughter of the troops and the cheers of the mob, they were the heroines of the hour.

Donahue, the leader of the strike, was taken to New York and confined in Ludlow street jail. On the 30th of July he was brought before Judge Donahue, of the Supreme Court of New York. He was charged with contempt of court in interfering with the business of a railroad in the hands of a receiver appointed by the court. He was defended by ex-Judge Curtis and General Roger A. Pryor, two of the most eminent members of the New York bar. On the 17th of August, Judge Donahue rendered his decision, the prisoner having been confined in jail in the meantime. The judge said the acts charged against the prisoner were not denied, and it was not an excuse to allege that the prisoner

was not aware that the railroad was in the hands of an officer of the court. A similar plea might be made in a petty larceny case—that the thief did not know that the property belonged to the person mentioned in the indictment. After pointing out the gravity of the offence, the court said it should be borne in mind that the prisoner's offences were such as he might be indicted for by the courts of the county in which they were committed. He therefore directed that the prisoner should be held in confinement for a period of thirty days from the time of his arrest. This time expired on the 22d of August, and he was released.

A number of the prominent strikers were arrested upon charges brought against them by the railroad officials, and held for trial.

It was generally supposed that the important line of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, one of the four great trunk routes between the East and West, would become involved in the strike. Strong efforts were made, chiefly by persons not connected with the road, to induce the men to strike, but these met with little sympathy. On the evening of the 23d of July a large meeting of workingmen of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, including track men, switch tenders, brakemen, firemen, and engineers, was held at the Capitol Park. Matthew J. Tiernan, a machinist employed in the West Albany shops, presided, and John Porter was secretary. A very full discussion of the various sides of the questions involved was indulged in, when finally a resolution was adopted asking Mr. Vanderbilt to advance the wages of all the workmen along the line of the railroad twenty-five per cent. In case of the refusal of this demand, the meet-

ing resolved to reassemble in the park on the morning of the 24th, and inaugurate a strike, after which they would proceed to West Albany and invite the men employed there to unite in the strike.

The principal shops of the New York Central Railroad are located at West Albany. They are extensive,



ALBANY, NEW YORK.

equipped with improved machinery and every necessary appliance, and give employment to a force of 1,500 men. The employés of the road were, as a rule, satisfied with their wages, rightly attributing their reduced figure to the stringency of the times.

Governor Robinson was in the western part of the State when the strike, which, as we have seen, first

affected the Erie Railroad, began. He at once returned to Albany, and reached that city on the 23d of July. As the troubles seemed to be growing more formidable and were breaking out in many parts of the State, he issued orders calling out the whole force of the National Guard of New York. In conversation with a gentleman on his return to Albany, he said :

The strike purports to be one of the railroad employés, but that in my opinion is a very small element in it. I have travelled from Elmira here to-day and saw the employés on both the Erie road and the Albany & Susquehanna, and all were satisfied with their pay and position. They say the disturbances are stirred up and kept going by disorderly outside men, who make use of them to destroy property with a view to bringing on a condition of lawlessness and plunder, not reflecting that after they have plundered their employers the next thing will be for them to plunder each other, having overthrown the law that protects them all. It was also suggested to me by these same men that a good many persons out of employment wished to place the railroad men in misconduct and get their places.

They knew that I was Governor while talking. It is really difficult to discover what the Erie strike is for. Very little is said in regard to wages. Even after the recent reduction of ten per cent. the wages are higher than those of any ordinary laborer or any railroad labor of the same class. On the Delaware & Hudson (Albany division) I talked with a conductor and a very intelligent engineer, and they said there was no difference between them and their employers. Before their wages had been reduced the necessity for it was explained, and they saw it and agreed to it.

The policy of the officers of the New York Central

Railroad concerning the strike was thus stated by Mr. William H. Vanderbilt, the President of that road, to the *Herald's Saratoga* correspondent:

Your representative called on William H. Vanderbilt, at the United States hotel, at four o'clock to-day, and in response to an inquiry as to the situation and the possibility of the employés of the New York Central road taking part in the strike, stated his views very clearly. In regard to the Lake Shore road, he said that the demands made for a restoration of the former rates of wages would not be entertained for a moment. The owners of the road could not consent to let the employés manage it. "There is a great principle involved in this matter," said Mr. Vanderbilt, "and we cannot afford to yield, and the country cannot afford to have us yield."

REPORTER—How do you account for the strike occurring on the Lake Shore road?

Mr. VANDERBILT—The men are different on that road, and are not so thoroughly identified with us as the men on the Central. There are intelligent, sensible men among them, but they are not equal as a class to the employés of the Central road.

REPORTER—Have you any reason to expect that the strike will extend to the Central?

Mr. VANDERBILT—None at all. The rioters at Buffalo are not railroad men, and our men should not be held responsible for the acts of the thieves and cut-throats in that city. I put great confidence in our men. There is a perfect understanding between the heads of departments and the employés, and they appreciate, I think, so thoroughly the identity of interest between themselves and us that I cannot for a moment believe that they will have any part in this business. I am proud of the men of the Central road, and my great trust in them is founded on their intelligent appreciation of the business situation at the present time.

If they shall stand firm in the present crisis it will be a triumph of good sense over blind fury and fanaticism. Our business relations with all our men on the Central are shaped, as they fully understand, by the emergencies of the business situation. Their hope, like ours, is for better times. We have simply done what we have been obliged to do, and they comprehend this thoroughly.

REPORTER—In case of trouble, what then?

Mr. VANDERBILT—We shall run trains just as long as the public authorities afford us protection from desperadoes. The railroad is an institution for the accommodation of the public, and, as such, is entitled to public protection. When we can no longer run our trains we shall close our shops, but we shall control our roads so long as we run them.

No demand made in a juncture like the present, or accompanied by a display of force or intimidation, will receive any consideration at our hands, and so far as the Central is concerned we do not expect any trouble. The persons I notice who are doing much of the mischief are not railroad men at all, and I expect that our Central employés would defend the property of the railroad rather than take sides with the rioters. They are men generally who are proud of their road, and whose instinct would lead them to fight for it rather than against it.

The conversation with Mr. Vanderbilt, which was very brief, impressed your correspondent with the conviction that Mr. Vanderbilt, while deplored the troubles that have thus far occurred, remains firm in the belief that his own road, the Central, will not be driven into the crazy émeute.

The demand authorized by the Albany meeting was made upon the President of the New York Central Railroad, and was refused. Accordingly, on the morning of the 24th, the strike was begun at Albany. The

men gathered in crowds at West Albany, and stopped all freight trains. Through the day no outbreak was attempted. The strikers presented a picturesque appearance, scattered along the road on either side of the track, the women and children carrying their own meal, and all sitting down and enjoying it, while others



SCENE ON THE HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD.

were racing with hand-cars and singing songs. The railroad men wanted to keep at work, but the outside crowd prevented them from doing so.

Early in the day the following despatch was received from William H. Vanderbilt relative to the twenty-five per cent. demand made by the meeting of the previous night :

SARATOGA, N. Y., July 24th, 1877.

To the Committee of Employés of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company, Albany:

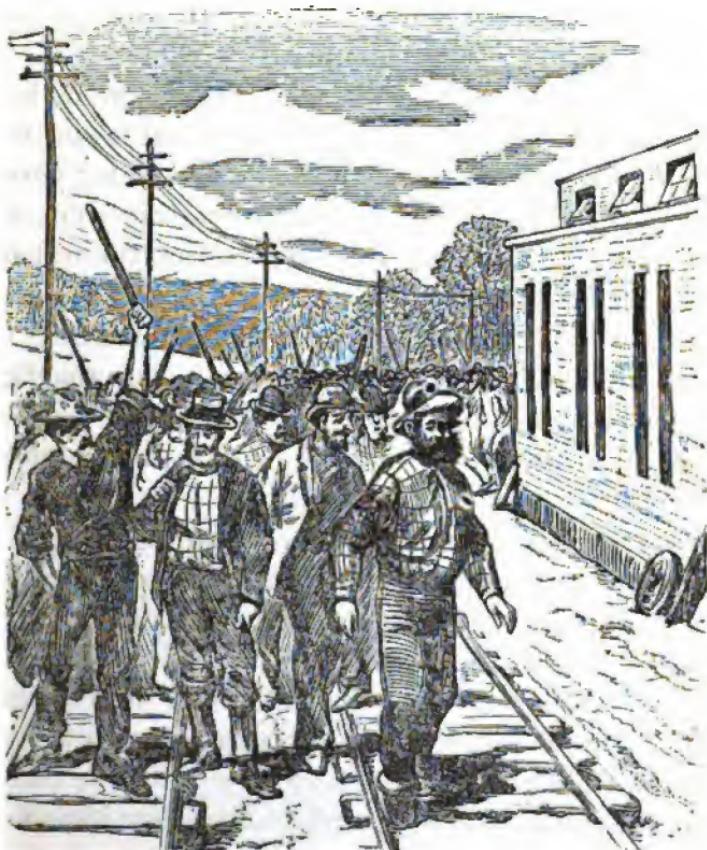
The public interests should not suffer from any differences between the road and its employés. Keep at work until the excitement is over and a fair conference can be had.

WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT.

The committee, on receipt of this telegram, had it read to the crowd, and hoots and jeers were emitted in reply to it. Epithets of the worst character were applied to Mr. Vanderbilt, and a general cry went up to "send him to the lower regions, and let the rest of us go on to the shops and stop work." "That's a nice piece of clap-trap," said one broad-shouldered, blue-shirted fellow. "The public interests, the common good. That's a pretty hocus. It's Vanderbilt's good and Vanderbilt's interest. He's got an inheritance of \$80,000,000, and thinks he's poor."

The rioters now hastened to the shops of the railroad company and compelled the men employed there to stop work. Their demands were complied with. Some of the workmen went home; others joined the rioters. The coach shop, which was closed against them, was forcibly opened by rolling a car-truck against the door. There was no resistance to the demands of the strikers, and consequently no serious trouble and no very great excitement. Through the great yards they went, calling on the switchmen along the tracks, the trackmen and the lumber hands, to join them; and finally they came to a long freight train and uncoupled the cars from the engine. They compelled the brakemen to join them, and several strikers, boarding the locomotive, compelled the engineer to take it to

the round house. Several other engines were also sent under cover. The engineers declined to leave their engines, but acceded to the wishes of the strikers in running to the round house. The quarter of twelve



RIOTERS MARCHING DOWN THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD TRACK AT WEST ALBANY.

mixed train, passenger and freight, but no mail, was the first train to arrive bound west. This they stopped, uncoupled the passenger cars and ordered the fifteen freight cars to be switched over upon the freight tracks.

There was some inclination to stop the passenger travel, but the majority held that it should not be impeded, and the two passenger cars were allowed to proceed.

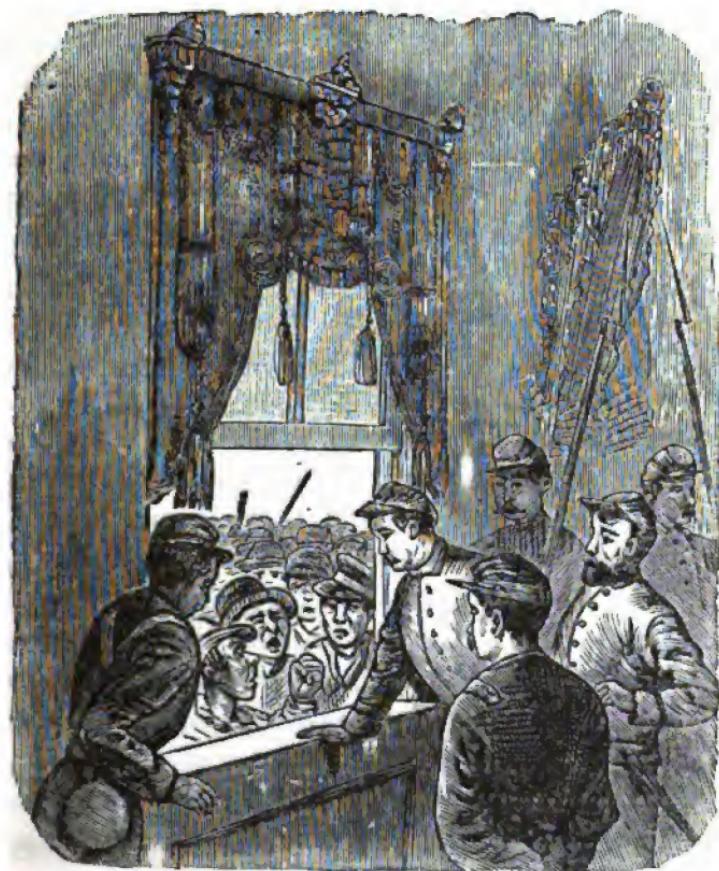
At four o'clock a meeting was held in the park. Incendiary speeches were made by a few, while others counselled moderation. It was finally agreed to proceed to the freight depot of the Central Railroad, on Water street, and take possession of it. When the mob reached the depot the men at work there were told to desist, and the majority complied with the demand. The few who resisted were taken by the shoulders and put out in the street. The mob then proceeded to the round house and elevator, and forced the men to desist from work. At the latter place grain was being transferred from the cars to boats; but this work was not allowed to proceed. From the elevator the rioters swarmed across the old railroad bridge spanning the Hudson at the foot of Sumter street, and thronged into Greenbush. This bridge is used exclusively for freight trains. An attempt was made to tear up the track on the Greenbush side, but was prevented by the cooler heads of the mob. The tracks were finally spiked to prevent the passage of freight trains.

The situation was so grave that the Governor ordered the 9th Regiment from New York to Albany. This command, 642 strong, left New York on a special train at a quarter to five on the afternoon of the 24th. At Poughkeepsie, Colonel Hitchcock, commanding the regiment, received the following despatch:

NEW YORK, July 24th, 1877.

MR. KENNEY:—Inform the colonel that the mob has

crossed the river and are now in East Albany. There are from 500 to 700. He should be ready for them, and you should run in slow and cautiously, following directions of Colonel Hitchcock. J. M. T.



RIOTERS THREATENING THE MEMBERS OF THE NINTH REGIMENT
N. Y. S. N. G., AT THE DELAVAN HOUSE, ALBANY.

The train was stopped below Greenbush, opposite Albany, by order of Colonel Hitchcock, and Captain Walton was sent forward with Company F to take possession of the drawbridge. When they had done

this the train rushed across it. No trouble or crowd was seen. During the passage the windows of the cars were closed and the soldiers remained silent.

A few minutes after the train crossed the drawbridge it arrived at Albany, and was met by General Carr and Rifle Inspector Hardinge, and by several hundred people, who welcomed it quite heartily. The men alighted and marched into the Delavan House to supper.

Efforts were made during the 24th to bring on a strike at Syracuse and Rochester, but the prompt action of the police prevented the strikers from gaining any advantage, and enabled the railroad authorities to run the trains. Troops were collected at those points, and preparations made to put down with force any interference with the running of the trains.

At Albany troops were collected from New York and Troy. Feeling that this force was strong enough, the governor ordered General Carr, commanding the military force, to take possession of the property of the New York Central Road and give protection to the men who desired to work. He was directed to arrest all persons who sought to interfere with the workmen or to damage the company's property, and to put down any outbreak promptly.

Early on the morning of the 24th the 9th Regiment formed opposite the Delavan House, and, accompanied by General Carr and staff, proceeded by special train to West Albany. It was feared from the temper of the operatives on the previous night that an attempt would be made to prevent the despatch of freight and other business at this point. It was well known that the men who crossed the river at East Albany to prevent the passage of the 9th Regiment on Tuesday evening,

were only too ready to act in concert with any malcontents in this vicinity, and, moreover, a mass-meeting of strikers had adjourned to meet here at nine o'clock A. M. West Albany was considered a vantage ground, and here it was expected the most hostile demonstrations would be made; therefore, the concentration of troops at this point was decided to be of vital importance. General Carr and Colonel Hitchcock had a council of war during the night and decided to occupy and hold West Albany depot. Accordingly the 9th Regiment, after sleeping on the soft side of pine planks in Martin's Hall, spoon fashion, turned out unrefreshed at daybreak and formed on Broadway. The men had a good breakfast, marched to the depot and embarked. The regiment, with General Carr and staff, arrived at West Albany before seven o'clock. The train was stopped and the men alighted, and by column it was countermarched along to the bridge and crossed to the depot, half a mile distant. Beneath the bridge the 9th Regiment rested. General Carr made his head-quarters at the railway station.

Everything was quiet; only a few people, mostly railroad employés, were about, and these, reassured by the presence of the 9th Regiment, went to work cheerfully. Cars were got into position and coupled, and the whole aspect of business resumed. Colonel Hitchcock sent Companies F and A to the southern end of the track, and skirmishers were thrown out east, west, and north. Company D, Captain Auld, took charge of the upper shops and switches.

The 10th Regiment, of Albany, 400 men, arrived soon after, commanded by Colonel Amasa J. Parker, Jr.

The first train moved west at a quarter to twelve

A. M., and about this time the Citizens' Guard, of Troy, appeared, as did also crowds of sulky people. These, however, did not interfere with transit, and during the day trains went east and west without let or hindrance.

Early in the afternoon the pickets south came in, reporting riotous demonstrations in that direction. Instantly the 9th Regiment was in line, moving down the track. General Carr and Colonel Hitchcock were in advance, and Carr's son was the sentry on the left front, where some excited men were assembled. A slight movement of some of these fellows led young Carr to think that his father's life was menaced. "Stop," said he to the men; "the first man that attempts to hurt him," pointing to his father, "I will shoot on the spot." He brought his piece to his hip as he spoke, and the men quickly got out of the way. Meanwhile the 9th and 10th regiments cleared the bridge and the roadways without any difficulty.

The prompt action of the State authorities brought the strike to an end at Albany. The railroad men, as has been stated, had taken very little interest in it, and at once returned to work when assured of protection against outside interference.

On the 26th of July the first arrest under the new law which Governor Robinson published in his proclamation of the 25th, was made at Troy. The person arrested was John Van Hoesen, to whose incendiary speeches the strike at Albany was mainly due. He was tracked by a detective, and captured at two o'clock on the morning of the 26th in a saloon at Troy. Later in the day he had a hearing before a magistrate, and was held to await the action of the grand jury. He was very much surprised to find that his conduct had

rendered him liable to an imprisonment of ten years, the charge being that he had interfered with the running of trains.

There was a remarkable inertia among the strikers all through the 26th, no groups being visible anywhere and but little interest being manifested in any respect



THE LATE CORNELIUS VANDERBILT—THE GREATEST RAILROAD KING IN THE WORLD.

in the strike until four o'clock, when another and the last meeting was held in front of the capitol and almost under the windows of both the governor and the adjutant-general. The speeches were unexpectedly moderate, and a resolution was passed appealing to the citizens generally to join in a petition requesting Mr.

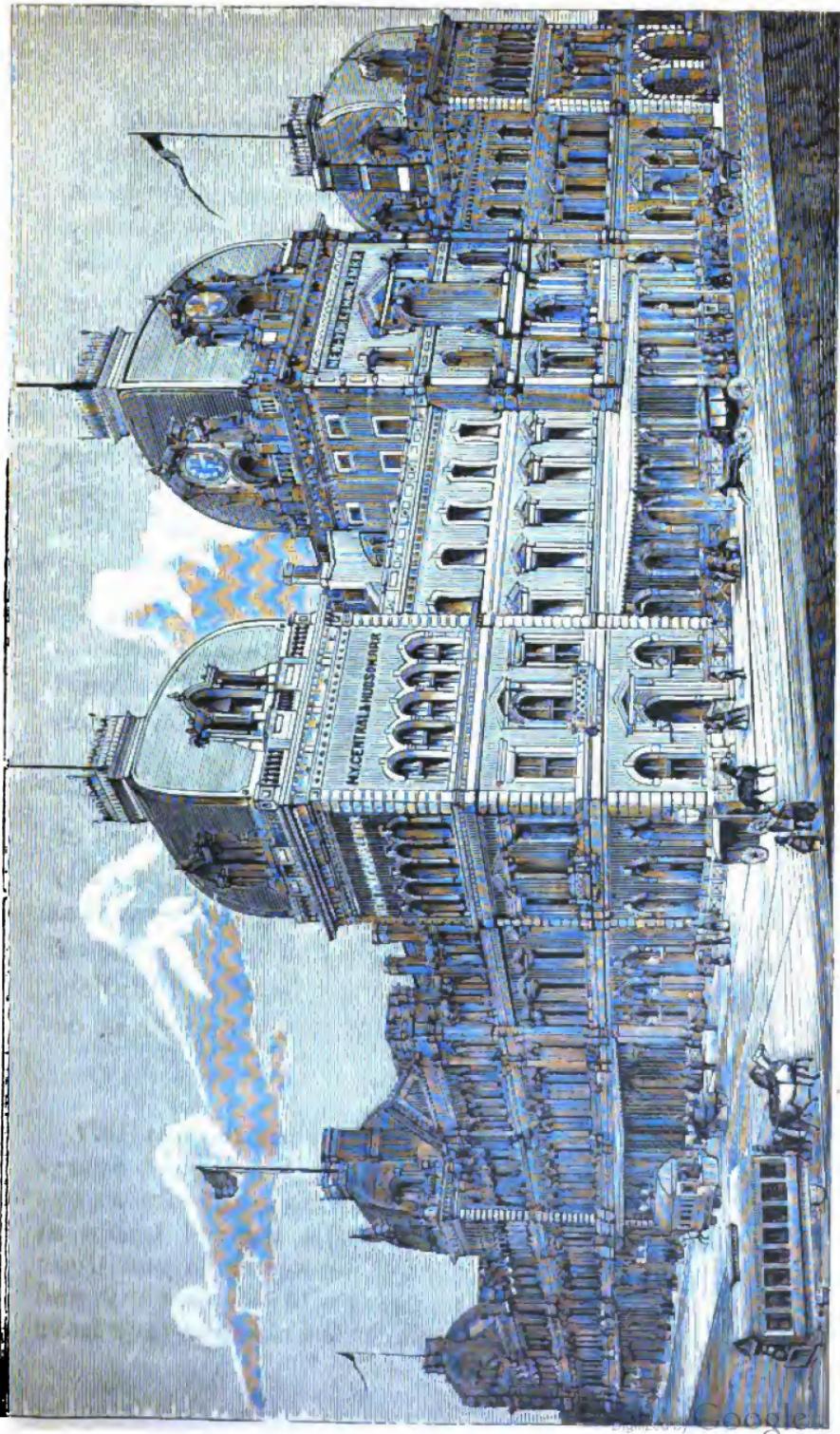
Vanderbilt to restore the ten per cent. reduction to those affected by it. This was received very kindly, and even those who had hitherto been most savage in denunciation of monopolies acquiesced almost greedily in it. Some of the prominent men of the city agreed to take the petition in hand and circulate it, and Mayor Banks announced to the men that he would personally appeal to Mr. Vanderbilt to accede to it. In the meantime it was agreed that there should be no further interruption to work, and the workmen might resume at any moment if Mr. Vanderbilt should see fit to open the shops. He decided to keep them closed until the danger of a renewal of the strike had entirely passed by. Considerable trouble was apprehended by the mayor at the meeting, and as a precaution he placed a hundred special policemen, including some of the solid capitalists, in the City Hall, ready to swoop down upon the crowd at the first appearance of disorder.

This was the end of the strike at Albany. At other points along the road it showed some lingering signs of vitality, but the men at distant points were generally disposed to acquiesce in the action of their comrades at Albany. Syracuse and Rochester were the principal centres of disturbance between Albany and Buffalo. The state of affairs at those places on the 26th is described in the following letters:

SYRACUSE, July 26th, 1877.

Quiet has been effectually restored here, and everything seems to indicate that the strike in this section has come to an end. The men who stopped trains at Dewitt and forced firemen and brakemen to join them have resumed their old relations with the company, and are striving to make amends for the mischief they have

GRAND CENTRAL RAILWAY DEPOT.



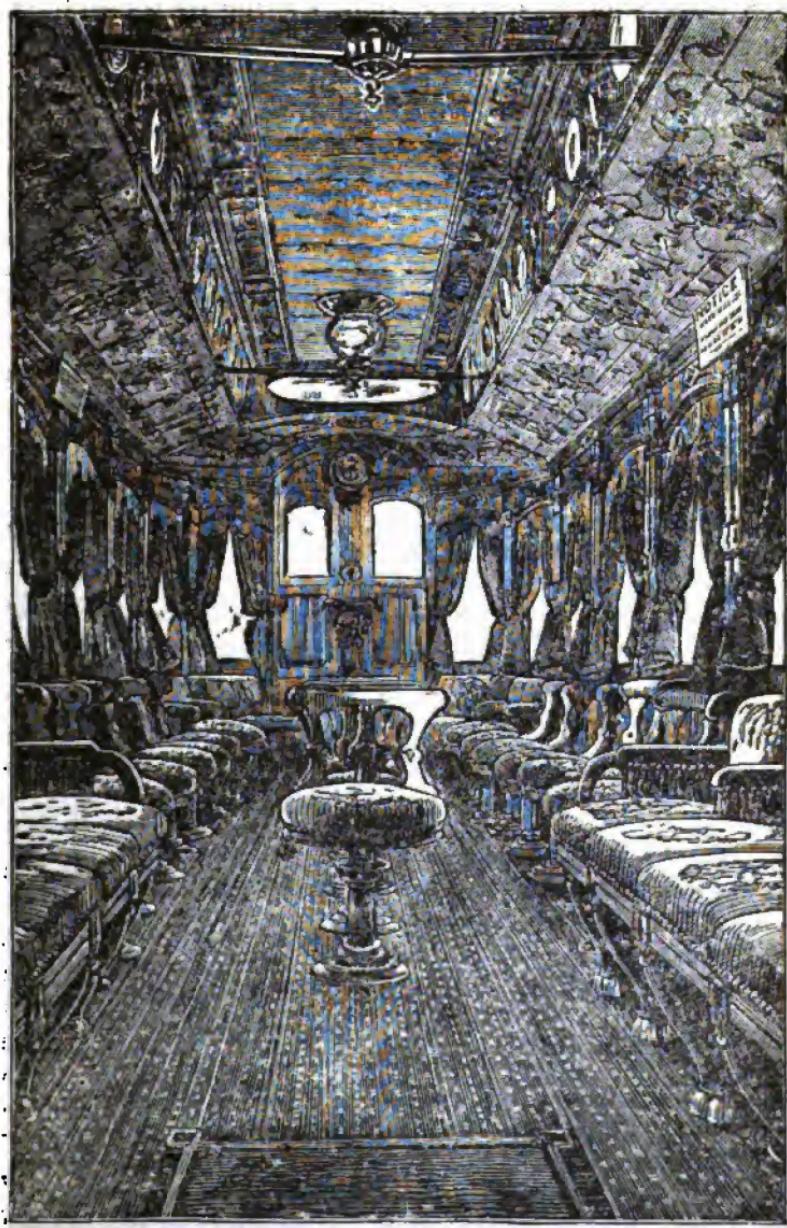
Digitized by Google

done. People are relieved of their anxiety, and feel that no trouble is to be apprehended from the train men. The trains are running regularly, and the freight cars, which had accumulated at Dewitt, have been taken away. This state of things has been brought about in part by the judicious action of the workmen themselves, who held a meeting, coolly discussed their position, and determined to resume work; but it is also due in a great measure to the prudence and foresight of General D. P. Woods, of the Sixth Division, and his staff, combined with the opportune appearance of the 8th Regiment from New York. The expectation of a general rising had a demoralizing effect on all classes of laborers, and the situation was made still more critical by the inefficiency of the local military organizations. In this strait, while the citizens were in doubt and in momentary fear of a riotous outbreak, General Wood and his chief of staff, General Richardson, determined on stopping at the city the 8th New York Regiment, which was reported on its way to Buffalo. They held their own counsel, however, and not a soul in Syracuse was aware of what had been done till the New York troops were safely quartered in the city and in charge of the armory. Whatever mischief might have been meditated was prevented by this movement, and people who had riotous intentions so long as the city was loosely guarded, shrunk from putting them in practice in the face of an effective military force. It must be said, too, that the reception of the New Yorkers was very creditable to the citizens of Syracuse. From the time of their appearance they were viewed with friendliness, and where they looked for hisses they received cheers. For its part the regiment has behaved admirably, and has created an exceedingly favorable impression in the minds of the people. Its discipline shows to better advantage by contrast with the carelessness of the local soldiery, and its strict enforcement of military rules created a sense of security and won

the confidence of the citizens. This afternoon, in response to the wishes of some of the residents of the place, Colonel Scott marched the regiment to a square where a dress parade was held, and where General Wood reviewed it. The New Yorkers were in good condition and seemed bright and cheerful. Before a very large gathering they went through a number of evolutions which seemed to delight the onlookers, and which several times evoked from them shouts of applause. The regiment then formed in line and, preceded by General Wood's staff, paraded through the city. Everywhere they attracted attention and won the favorable comment of the people.

ROCHESTER, July 26th, 1877.

On the Central road the change is astonishing. The strike here is not avowedly, but yet it is practically, over. Trains are running with a good deal of regularity, and even the freight is moving. How matters stand, even the officers of the company seem at a loss to explain. They are not confident, but hopeful, and say that there has not been what may be called a strike on the road; and yet it is not certain that the danger is past. When I arrived here this evening I called on Mr. Burrows, the superintendent of the division, and he assured me that everything looked bright for the future. "We had a train through from Chicago to-day," he said, "and the St. Louis express for the East will be in at midnight, being an hour late owing to the quantity of baggage she has had to handle." I looked out of the window and saw a long train of freight cars moving westward. "There," he remarked, pointing to the train, "is the best evidence I can offer that the strike is over, and that is about all I know about it." We cannot tell what a day may bring forth, but to-day everything is all right. It may be that to-morrow the great strike will be a matter of history.



PALACE CAR, NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD.

275

A correspondent of the *Herald*, writing from Saratoga on the 26th, said :

The rapid progress of events during the last forty-eight hours, culminating in the virtual check of the mob element in this State, at least, has done much to reassure the public mind and restore confidence among the representative men here. Mr. Vanderbilt's common sense view of the case, and his firm and prudent course, are strongly commended, and he has been to-day in receipt of numerous private telegrams approving his policy as indicated in the *Herald* special despatches from this place. He still continues firm and hopeful of a satisfactory conclusion of the whole matter. At an interview with him this morning, he expressed continued trust in the intelligent action of his men, and believed that they would successfully resist the mad and foolish constraint put upon them by outside parties, whose aims and purposes were not only inimical to the welfare of the Central and its employés, but to the common good of the whole public. In reply to inquiries, he said that he had some thirty thousand men altogether on the various roads under his charge—the Hudson, Central, Lake Shore, Harlem, and Dunkirk & Allegheny, and he sought to guard their interests. That was enough, he thought, to occupy one man's attention. In reply to an interrogation as to his correspondence and relations with other prominent railroad men, he replied that he thought they would come out all right eventually, but did not give your correspondent to understand that there was any concert of action among the railroad managers. He did speak very highly of the course taken by Governor Robinson, especially praising the last proclamation, which he thought would have an excellent effect. The action taken by the State authorities to sustain the laws could not be too highly commended. The effect of the policy pursued on the Central and by the State would doubtless contribute to the restoration of quiet elsewhere.

"Tom Scott is all right," he said. "There is but one question now at issue, and that is whether the laws of the land shall be maintained and enforced, or mob-rule prevail. The necessities of all the roads are the same, so far as this issue is concerned, and while some of my men may have succumbed to evil influences, I am prouder than ever of my men as a body; proud that their *esprit de corps* has not been broken; proud of their firmness and nerve, their intelligence and good sense. Everything is staked on the maintenance of law and order. We are all alike. It is just the same if a man loses all he has got, whatever he may be worth, and my men know that the welfare and success of their road is their relative success, its loss their relative loss. The same principle should apply to all roads. If I lose everything at stake, I am as badly off as the employé who loses all. Neither of us can be worse off."

In reply to inquiries as to the course of other railroads, or his views in regard to them, Mr. Vanderbilt said he had nothing to communicate. He thought that common sense should control all parties concerned, and that the return of better times was the only cure for the complaints which all men are making. As in previous interviews, Mr. Vanderbilt constantly recurred to his own men and his own roads. He reiterated with emphasis his feeling of pride and confidence in his employés, and while he seemed to avoid saying anything that could be regarded as a concession to the spirit of violence, his tone and temper were kindly and yet firm. It was a public matter, and yet he said it was, as regarded himself and his men, a family matter, which they could and would settle and arrange among themselves if they were protected by the government in their common rights. Just now it was to be determined whether we had a government adequate to protect its citizens and their property. His men would do their duty as citizens and employés if they were protected from the mob influence that strove to drive them

from their posts. His men had not struck, and to-day, he said, "we have resumed the running of freights, while the ring-leaders in the trouble are being brought to justice by the authorities." Mr. Vanderbilt seemed to regard the crisis as past, and attributed this result largely to the prompt measures taken by the authorities to prevent violence.

At the close of the strike Mr. Vanderbilt issued the following order to his men :

SARATOGA, August 1st, 1877.

To the Employés of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company:

We have passed through a period of unparalleled excitement. Surrounded on all sides by a common enemy, all good citizens felt the necessity of sustaining the authorities, the dispersion of the mob, and a return of peace. I appealed to you to resist the wilful lawlessness of bands of rioters, to protect the property of the company, and assist in restoring order. Your response has won the admiration and respect of the whole country. Of this company's 12,000 employés, less than 500 have shown any disposition to embarrass it. The property remains intact and uninjured. You have everywhere, except when overcome by outside violence, performed your duties, and your example has tended greatly to allay the excitement. I think I am justified, under the circumstances, in making some marked recognition of your loyalty and faithfulness, and have this day directed that the sum of \$100,000 be appropriated for the purpose, to be divided ratably, according to their position on the pay-roll, among all the employés, except executive and departmental officers and the clerical force not directly engaged in operating the road.

The policy of the company heretofore adopted will apply to the present as well as future emergencies.

Men who in time of trial strike and embarrass its operations by violently preventing others from doing their duty, cannot remain in or re-enter its service. The late reduction of ten per cent., including as it does every officer and employé in every branch of the service, except those who receive \$1 a day or \$30 per month, was considered a fair and equitable result of the company's business, and the compensation thus fixed is fully equal to that paid by corporations or individuals anywhere for similar services. Your pay will be increased the moment the business of the country will justify it.

WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT, *President.*

An effort was made by the strikers on the Erie Railroad to bring on a strike on the Lake Shore Railroad, which extends from Buffalo to Toledo, and forms a part of the New York Central's line to Chicago. The disturbance began at Buffalo, where the Lake Shore men struck on the 22d, and prevented the passage of freight trains. At Erie, Pennsylvania, and other points along the road, the train men joined the strike, and stopped the trains, but no further violence was attempted. No trains were allowed to run on the line between Buffalo and Erie, Mr. Vanderbilt having determined not to undertake to run any trains until the strikers ceased their interference with the road. The Atlantic express from Chicago reached Erie at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 24th of July. It consisted of four fast mail cars, with heavy mails, two baggage cars, and four well-filled passenger cars. In accordance with orders from President Vanderbilt the train was run upon a side track and declared abandoned. The passengers were much incensed, and tried to urge the strikers to run the train through to Buffalo. The

strikers partially consented, fired up an engine and attached it to the train. William P. Taylor, the Superintendent of the Buffalo division, telegraphed to Sheriff Stuerswicked to prevent the strikers from taking out the train.

The strikers thereupon sent the following telegram to the President of the United States:

ERIE, PA., July 24th, 1877.

To PRESIDENT R. B. HAYES, Washington, D. C.:

The Lake Shore Company has refused to let United States mails go east of here. We would be pleased if you would in some way direct them to proceed with the mails and also passengers.

Signed by a committee of firemen and brakemen.

A meeting of the strikers was held at the depot at three o'clock in the afternoon. The mayor, sheriff, and a posse of police were on hand to preserve order. The mayor advised the men to let the train alone and not to interfere with the company's orders. The chief of the strikers also advised the same course. The engine was then taken off, run into the round house, and the train was left on the siding. It contained about one hundred through passengers for New York, and the cars for the time were converted into a hotel. About half-past six o'clock the Chicago and St. Louis express came in from Chicago, and, like its predecessor, was run upon a side track and abandoned. The trains were held at Erie until the morning of the 26th, when, it being certain that the strike was at an end, they were ordered to proceed to Buffalo. From this time the trains were run regularly over the Lake Shore road.

It was believed that the strike would certainly ex-

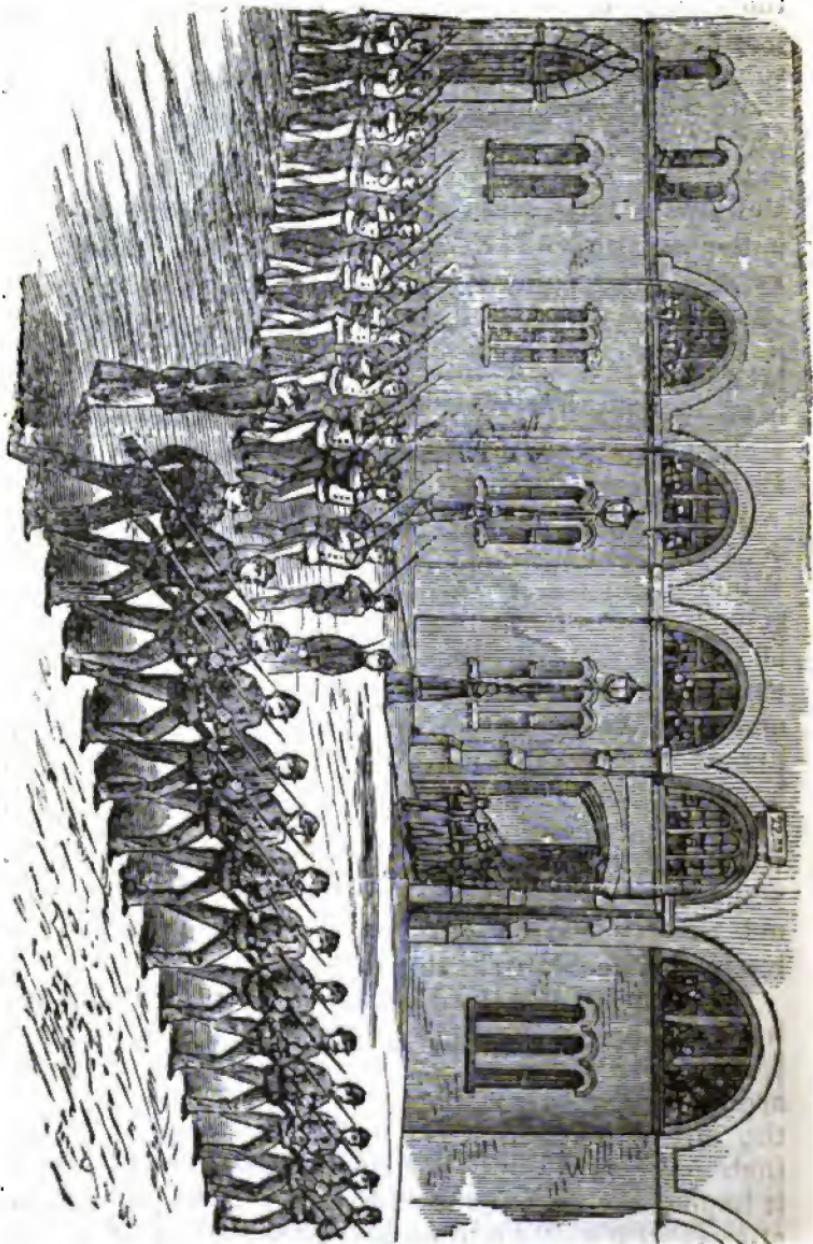
tend to New York city. That city is the eastern terminus of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, and there the company have vast interests at stake and give employment to several thousand men. The city of New York is peculiarly circumstanced. It contains a large class of professional criminals, and a larger multitude of idle and reckless men. In addition to these, there are many men of foreign birth, who, while pursuing some means of support, are thoroughly imbued with communistic ideas, and are ready at any time to make war upon the existing state of society. These classes make up a formidable section of the population of New York.

It was feared that should the strike extend to New York, these classes would make it a pretext for riot and violence. New York being the wealthiest city of the Union, and one of the great financial centres of the world, always offers inducements to a mob of desperate characters to engage in an outbreak in the hope of plunder. The hard times from which the whole country was suffering had pressed very heavily upon the workingmen of New York. Many were out of work, and all were more or less discontented. In case of an outbreak it was certain that the rioters would be largely reinforced from this class.

On the 24th of July the New York *Herald* gave the following account of the sentiment prevailing among the people of the city :

The war times only can afford a parallel in point of deep popular emotion and excitement to the feeling that prevailed in this city yesterday over the startling news from Pittsburgh. But it was not alone the news from there that filled and agitated the public mind—

THE 22D REGIMENT, N. G. & N. Y., DRILLING FOR STREET FIGHTING.



the circumstance that this strike, no bigger in the beginning than a man's hand, had in a few short days spread all over a section of the country at least a thousand miles in circuit and seized even upon the great New York Central road, alarmed the most phlegmatic and indifferent sort of people and set them a thinking, "Where will it end?" In the crowds that gathered around the bulletin boards in front of the various newspaper offices there was evidence of the strong public feeling prevailing. To some it looked as if the spectre of Communism was stalking over the land, and though men affected unconcern there was a deep-seated and sensitive dread that right here in the midst of us it was possible such scenes as unhappy Pittsburgh witnessed might be realized.

It is needless to say that the one overwhelming subject of thought and conversation was the strike. While confined to the Baltimore & Ohio and the Pennsylvania Central roads it might not offer such a share of interest and concern to New Yorkers, but when it extended itself and struck the two great arteries—Erie and New York Central—by which the metropolis holds her chief communication with the West, then indeed it aroused alarm. No class was unaffected by the prevailing apprehension, and it was freely speculated on whether within this very week the terrible epidemic which has played such sad havoc in Pittsburgh might not run down these conductors, the Erie and Central roads, and plunge right in among us.

The perturbation of railroad stocks showed how the influence of the strike had penetrated there. In the leading hotels men thrown together as strangers made acquaintances in smoking-rooms and at the bar over the one paramount topic. In the drinking-saloons high and heated controversies occurred at times where it happened that a friend of the strikers had a passage-at-arms with a citizen of conservative instincts, to whom the violation of law and order is the one unpardonable

sin. Not one of the seven thousand liquor stores and beer-saloons in New York city but must have had either mention or discussion of the strike within its walls during the hours of yesterday. There was much demagogery, and men who in their hearts don't care for the working classes were very profuse in their sympathies for the strikers so long as they perceived it was politic to be so. At the Grand Central depot, on Forty-second street, and at the Hudson River freight depot, on Thirtieth street, many people, curious to see how the Vanderbilt railroads stood the pressure, lingered for a while during the day. The rumors of a strike on the Broadway and Seventh avenue line of street cars on account of a reduction of wages of the drivers and conductors the previous night, turned attention in that direction as being possibly the prospective point of departure for a carnival of commotion and disorder.

Among the staid and solid classes the inquiry was frequent as to the condition of the National Guard, whether the regiments were prepared to turn out at a moment's notice, and so on. To some nervous people of means this was a subject of uppermost concern, and yet nobody could be found to give a really true and satisfactory statement as to that question. It was generally assumed, however, that the city regiments were well able to cope with any emergency within the ken of present observation. Citizens of leisure and of large bank accounts relieved their anxieties by calling on Inspector Walling at Police Head-quarters and receiving assurances that there was nothing to occasion alarm as far as this city is concerned, and that "the finest police force in the world" was never in finer condition than it is to-day.

The leaders of the "Social Democracy" and the "International Society" were uncommonly busy making preparations for the mass-meeting of workingmen in Tompkins square next Wednesday. This they look

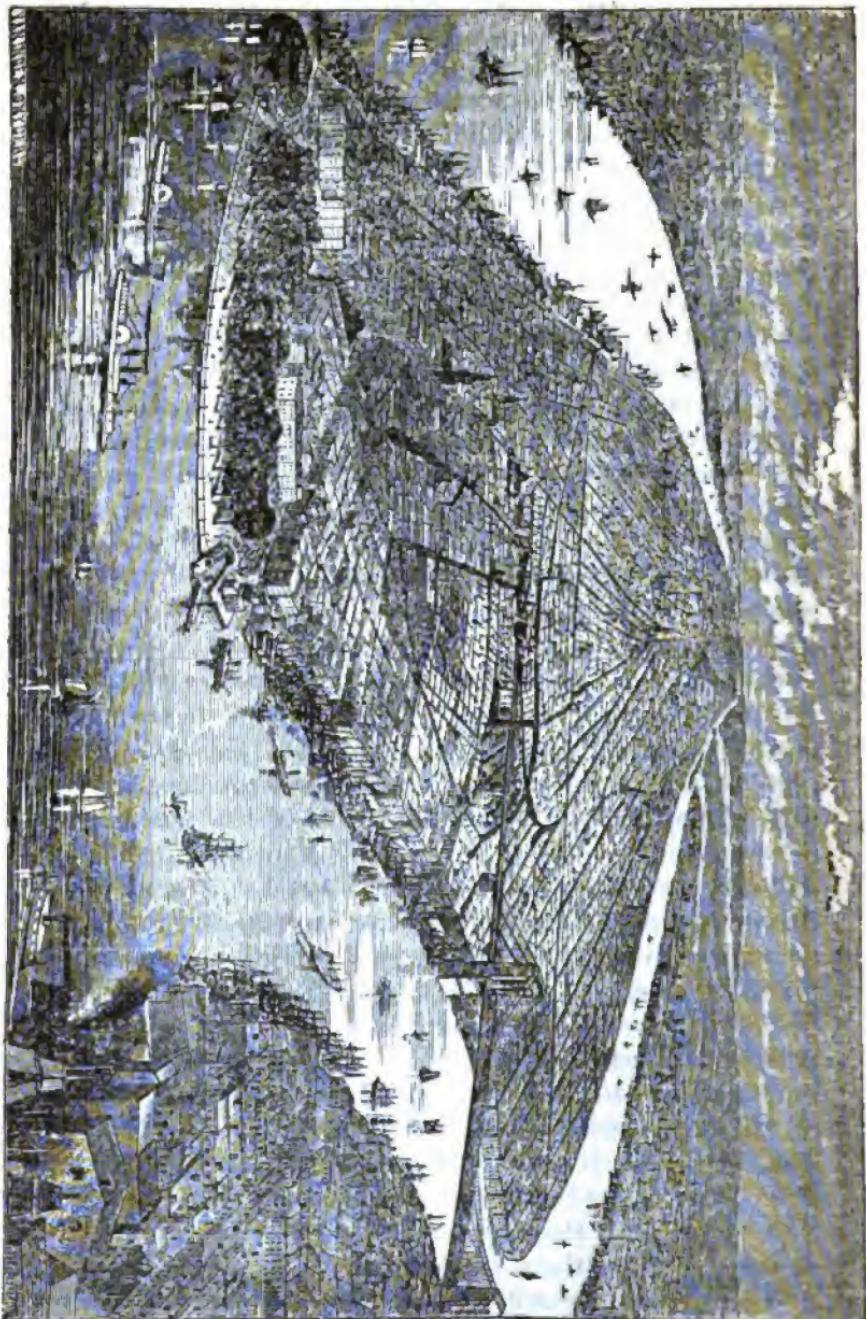
upon as the acceptable time, and meet for the promulgation of their communistic doctrines. As far as the *Herald* reporter could learn outside of the ranks of these socialists, the project of holding a meeting in Tompkins square, which is sure to be dominated by the spirit of communism, is deprecated by workingmen themselves, who, however ready to denounce capital, are not yet prepared to take it to their embrace.

"I tell you what it is," said a thoughtful appearing man in a Sixth avenue car to the reporter, "there are at least thirty thousand men in this city to-day who would hail a strike of the railroad employés—street car and steam railroads—with rapture, because such a strike would make confusion, and under cover of it they would hope to start a reign of anarchy and plunder that would have few parallels in history. We are standing on a volcano, and all possible caution is needed to save us."

On the west side of the town, where the longshoremen muster in large numbers, the strike was viewed from almost one standpoint alone. It was right and justifiable, and the railroad corporations were a grasping, avaricious, soulless set. That was about the burden of sentiment. "They have been coining fortunes out of poor men's blood," asserted a mud-spattered truck driver in front of the White Star dock to a group of six or eight sympathetic listeners. "Yes," he continued, "and if they" (it is to be supposed he meant railroad directors) "got only a taste of what they give other people, it might do them good. Dog gone it, if I ain't glad to hear the strikers burned up six or eight millions of their property. That's what'll fetch 'em, you bet. Jist see how it's fotched 'em already. There's the Fort Wayne road consents to give back the reduction, and the Union Pacific says it won't reduce at all, and so on; you see, the strikers didn't do amiss no how."

This speaker was a type of many, breathing a fierce and unrelenting hostility to capital, especially that in-

GENERAL VIEW OF NEW YORK CITY, SHOWING THE BRIDGE CONNECTING IT WITH BROOKLYN.



vested in railroads. About twenty men were sitting at lunch-time along a pile of lumber beside the new stone warehouses going up on West Broadway, and as the reporter lounged past he overheard a man with a huge chunk of bread in his fist, exclaim : " Well, boys, our time's come at last. We have been kicked and cuffed, and our wages has been regulated for us long enough, and now, by God, I think we ought to have a chance to regulate somebody else's wages." The sentiment seemed to meet general approval, as the response, " That's so," was loud and earnest.

Further on, near College place, a group of masons and bricklayers were discussing the great event, and one of the number cried out, " Our societies ought to meet in Tompkins square, and let it be known to the world that the cause of them men in Pennsylvania is ours. Labor is as good as capital any day, and may be a damn sight better." " That's the talk," said one of the listeners, encouragingly. " Give it to 'em while you're at it." " Well, I was sayin'," resumed the former speaker, " that labor is as good as capital and better, because without the one you can't do much with the other, and now I say it would have been fitter when these railroads was runnin' agin each other to carry freight the cheapest that they turned round to see how their employés was situated before they went to work to cut down their wages, in order to make up for their own foolishness." Clumsily as this idea was expressed, it was well and quickly appreciated, showing that the working people are ever ready to believe anything against capital.

On the east side of town, among the stevedores and laborers on Front and South streets, there was but one feeling, and that, of course, in favor of the strikers. Backed up against a bale of cotton, the speaker among his fellows might be heard explaining in his rude way the nature of the issues involved in the struggle going on. " No man has a right to starve in a country like

this," said one of these *al fresco* logicians to his auditory, none of whom stopped to consider any confusion of ideas in the theory laid down, but grasped by instinct the principle that the wealth of the few was the subscription of the many, and the many had, therefore, an implied lien upon it. The mind of the working class was never before so exercised, and the mental commotion stirred up promises to last for some time.

The feeling among business men was pretty uniform in respect to the convenient occurrence of the strike, as they say it could hardly have happened at a time when it will prove less embarrassing. The dry goods and provision men are of this opinion, the latter stating that this is the quiet period, when little of the old crop of wheat remains, and the new has not been received. Of course, if the strike continued and a large demand was received from Europe, the price of flour would go up. The price of beef has already been affected by the strike, and it is thought if the supply of live cattle be interrupted, it may ascend so high as to be only within the reach of the rich. Cotton and petroleum will not be influenced appreciably, as the former comes principally by sea, and the latter is already on hand in superabundant quantities. Butter and cheese, which are so subject to the influence of warm weather, and are said to be on the road here in vast quantities, must suffer even in refrigerator cars if left to stand on the tracks for days together in a hot sun. It is, however, a conviction of many business men that the strike has no bottom to it, and that it must collapse through its own intrinsic weakness before the week is over.

Members of the Produce Exchange went to that building with feelings of grave apprehension. Cable despatches were scanned, first to see what pressure the news had had upon European markets. Telegrams from the West were sought for to learn the movements of grain. The market was feverish, but a general inclination prevailed to transact as little business as possible.

Thousands of barrels of crude petroleum having been burned at Pittsburgh by the strikers, it would naturally be inferred that such a heavy loss would affect the market visibly; but such does not seem to be the fact. At the Petroleum Exchange, No. 80 Beaver street, the Secretary, Mr. Strong, stated that the prices yesterday were lower, if anything, than on Saturday. Dealers in this staple in the oil region dropped their prices yesterday twenty cents per barrel, on account of a want of transportation. The oil destroyed at Pittsburgh was owned by shippers either in Philadelphia or Baltimore.

Sunday was rather an anxious day for the stock operators, more especially for those carrying railroad securities, and the morning boats and trains brought to the city many who did not quite like having their holiday in the country disturbed. On Sunday evening the telegraph offices at Long Branch, Saratoga, Newport, and other summer resorts were crowded with anxious speculators, and the exciting reports of the doings of the rioters brought them all to the city as soon as possible. The market opened very weak, and for a few moments there appeared to be no buyers, but presently confidence was restored, and a slight rally took place. There was an average fall of about two per cent. in Lake Shore, St. Paul preferred, New York Central, Delaware and Lackawanna, Northwest preferred and Delaware and Hudson at the opening; but they rallied before long, and kept active during the day, closing at about the opening figures in most instances. Everybody appeared anxious for news during the day, and a number of different rumors were floating around. They were mostly all of a bear nature, rather calculated to depress stocks; but in the face of them all the market kept pretty steady. In fact, the excitement rather simmered down, and those that sold during the flurry of the morning began to repurchase their stocks, as they did not consider the position as bad as it had been represented.

There appeared to be some difference of opinion between some of the brokers as to whether the cities and States would be responsible for the damage done to railway property by their own employés. The *Herald* reporter consequently paid a visit to Judge William Fullerton, to learn his opinion on the point. The Judge said he did not see any reason why the old statute should not hold good. Firstly, the railroads have a perfect right to pay their employés whatever they may think proper; secondly, the employés have a perfect right to strike work if they do not think they are being paid sufficiently for their labor; and, thirdly, when they resort to violence they become rioters, and as such the cities and States will have to pay whatever damage they may do.

The city and State authorities were fully alive to the consequences of an outbreak in New York, and were resolved that no disturbance should occur. The First Division of the National Guard is made up entirely of regiments from New York city. It was ordered under arms on the 23d, and about the same time orders were sent to General Dakin, commanding the Second Division at Brooklyn, to hold his entire command in readiness. The necessary calls were issued, and the men began to assemble at their armories in New York and Brooklyn. The 9th and 8th Regiments were ordered from New York to other parts of the State, and the 23d was sent from Brooklyn to Hornellsville, on the Erie Railroad. In addition to the military, the splendid police force of New York was held in readiness, and the authorities felt confident of their ability to put down any outbreak that might occur. They were much encouraged by the success of the Philadelphia police in keeping the mob in subjection, and meant

that the metropolis of the Union should not be disgraced by anything like mob violence.

On the night of the 23d, towards ten o'clock, a mob



SCENE IN THE ARMORY OF THE 7TH REGIMENT, N. G. S. N. Y.—
THE TROOPS AWAITING ORDERS.

of about two hundred and fifty men and boys gathered in front of the armory of the 7th Regiment, at Tompkins Market. They commenced to jeer and shout at

members of the regiment, and a sergeant in uniform, attempting to pass through the crowd, was rather roughly handled. He retreated to the barracks and procured a suit of citizen's clothes. At the time he was attacked he was going for powder to load the guns that had been placed in position in the armory during the day. Captain McCullough, of the Seventeenth precinct, with a platoon of men, succeeded in dispersing the mob. There were no arrests made. Some time later the mob gathered, about fifty strong, at the corner of Third street and Bowery. It was thought that they intended to break into the Dry Dock Savings Bank. On the approach of the police they were again dispersed without any great trouble. By midnight everything was quiet.

The leaders of the communistic societies of New York, which associations are made up almost entirely of foreigners who have in many cases been members of similar organizations in Europe, regarded the exciting period as a fitting time to test the strength of the popular sympathy with them. They determined to hold a public meeting, ostensibly for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the workingmen engaged in the strikes, but really to test their strength in New York, and see if they could command sufficient outside aid to enable them to bring on an outbreak. The permission of the authorities being necessary to enable them to hold such a meeting, they applied to the Police Commission for leave to hold their meeting in Tompkins Square. Their request was promptly granted, and a call was issued for a mass-meeting of the Trades Unions at Tompkins Square on the night of Wednesday, 25th of July, to express sympathy with the men en-

gaged in the strikes in other parts of the country. The true character of the proposed meeting was well understood throughout the Union, and considerable surprise was manifested at the course of the New York authorities in allowing the meeting to be held. The Police Commissioners were convinced, however, that to prevent the meeting would be to increase whatever excitement and discontent might exist among the laboring classes, and that the best way to deprive the Communists of their influence was to permit them to hold their meeting and show their designs. They felt confident that the great mass of the workingmen of New York were not in sympathy with any communistic schemes, and that they would be alienated from them to a still greater extent by their public proclamation. They, therefore, decided to allow the meeting at Tompkins Square. At the same time it was resolved to have a strong, well-armed force of police at hand to put down any attempt at an outbreak, and to be ready to support such action with the entire police force and the military. The commissioners felt fully confident of their ability to deal with the mob, and meant to show them that the city authorities were not afraid of them.

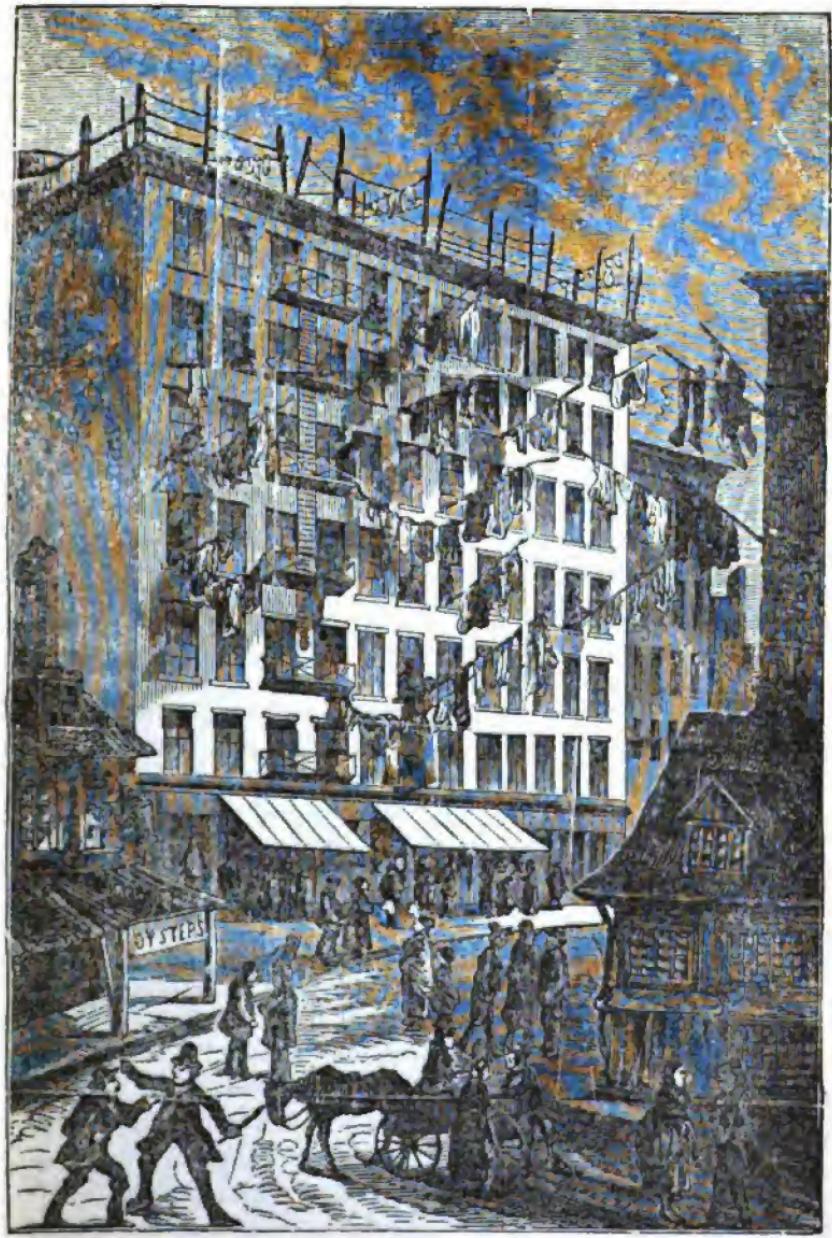
The meeting was held at the appointed time, and was watched with the keenest anxiety by the whole country. All felt that it would decide whether we were to have a general communistic revolt, with its accompaniments of bloodshed, pillage, and arson, or whether the authorities were strong enough to enforce the laws. If the mob got the upper hand in New York, it was generally said, the terrible results would spread to the whole country; if the authorities could prevent an outbreak, the insurrection would receive its

death blow. The meeting formed such an important part of the great outbreak, that we give here entire the New York *Herald's* account of it:

Yesterday (Wednesday) morning was a specimen American summer day—warm, but not sultry, hot, but bright. The sun rose early, according to the almanac, and when its beams struck the face of every citizen sleeper he turned over in bed and said, “To-day either begins the great riot or settles the strike.” That expression was uttered by ten thousand men as they confronted their wives, already awake, and man and wife, regarding the sleeping children, said, “What is to come of to-day?”

All knew that yesterday would have had no great interest in it except for the request of the restless and semi-communistic classes to improve the occasion and hold a public meeting in the densest quarter of New York. Our Park and Police Commissioners quietly acceded to this demand. The relative importance of New York to the rest of the Union could have received no better testimonial than the telegraphic despatches which flashed into New York from every point of the compass, saying, in effect, “If New York gives way before the mob, when will this thing end?” “We are all looking to Wednesday night in New York to know whether this strike is a spasmodic affair or a rebellion from underneath.” “The immense population of New York is looked to by all the disorderly elements for a final outbreak. Can it be prevented? Why do your Police Commissioners allow such a meeting at this crisis?”

Such were the despatches received by merchants and other business and professional people in New York on Tuesday night, and they attest the power of such a city as ours for good or evil upon the whole country. Smaller cities trembled in apprehension of our vast population rising up against law and property;



A NEW YORK TENEMENT HOUSE—THE HOME OF THE RIOTERS.

but in this city, as a general rule, the heads of men were level. Nobody left town. Although the trains were embarrassed on all sides of New York, the generic Parisian life of this city was illustrated, as every day in the week, of children out of doors and carts and omnibuses running to and fro. Nobody had the white lips which Byron described as in Brussels on the night before Waterloo. The beautiful Wednesday morning broke upon a bay as lively with shipping, as full of ferryboats and as streaming with national flags as at any time in our history. Some thousands of daily visitors to New York, who came in late at the ferries, bantered each other when they landed and ascended to Broadway. They looked about them and said, "There is no look of riot here." But others, more timid, responded, "The mornings are never riotous. We must wait until night to find our destiny out."

Even in Wall street, that seat of gamblers, lofty or low, the general inquiry was, "What will happen at Tompkins square to-night?" Men answered this question according to their temperament, and it was noticeable that the ordinary business American did not bother himself about prevention, trusting to luck that every offence against the law would redress itself. Yet the stock market trembled underneath. Bluff is the game in that quarter of the town, and he would be a cheap man who affected to shrink before the possibilities of a communistic mass-meeting.

In the central upper quarter of the town, where great orders are filled for interior and Western houses, the merchants merely smiled and said: "This is the last day of the suspense. Public opinion is forming. This meeting of fanatics in Tompkins square alarms some people. But the militia of New York were never in better gear or more earnest than now, and we trust to them."

About noon the *Herald* writer went up town to police head-quarters. People at a distance who read the

Herald may like to know where police head-quarters stands in such a long, insular city as ours. It is of white marble, in a rather narrow street, just above the business mile and a half of the town and just below the resident two miles. Mulberry street is a small street parallel to Broadway, below what might be called First street, if First street ran across town. We begin numbering streets in New York at nearly two miles above the Battery point of the city. The rough and foreign classes, thirty years ago, took up their residence in this neutral part of the city, between the business and the American resident portion, and these classes sloped off to the two rivers—particularly the East river—which became the great tenement house quarter of New York, filled with all kinds of foreigners, especially with Germans, French, and other Continental nationalities. From First street to Twentieth street is the neutral or foreign quarter of New York—a place for theatres, saloons, nondescript boarding-houses, cafés, etc. The city bulges here, on the east side, and creates a huge ellipse towards the East river or Williamsburg side. In the midst of this quarter is a naked square named, after a former Governor of New York and Vice-President of the United States, Tompkins square. This is the breathing spot or lungs of the German, the foreigner, the tenement house, the workingmen's, the communistic quarter of New York city. Tompkins square in itself suggests in a slight degree the naked Champs de Mars of Paris, although very small compared to its French antitype. Like the Champs de Mars, it is sandy, bare, pebbled, and hot, and seems to have been swept of all trees and ornaments for parade purposes, or possibly for holding a mob in check. About four years ago a workingman's meeting was called in Tompkins square, and then, to the astonishment of New York, it was seen that among us were real socialistic elements such as had attempted to revolutionize Louis Philippe's government at various times

and had thrown Paris into such consternation that despotism was always welcome to business people there. At the time of the aforesaid riot the red flag—that symbol for infidel incendiaryism to Americans—was actually raised on this common. The man who carried it was badly clubbed, and was, therefore, made quite a martyr of by his adherents. He proved to be an expatriated European communist, who kept a small lager beer saloon about a quarter of a mile from Tompkins square. His name was Justus W. Schwab.

At that time Schwab became an object of sympathy on account of the complete humiliation of the rioters; some amateur fanatics of English and Scotch type made such a feature of Schwab's wounds in the press that Schwab mounted to be a national martyr. The attack of the police on Schwab and his red flag and on the first appearance of communism in a city of the Western world was so efficient that New York had almost forgotten until yesterday the existence of any socialism in her midst. But, meteorically, just after the development of the great railroad strike, Schwab appeared in the prints and at police head-quarters as an appellant for a great meeting of sympathy in Tompkins square for the men who had just burned up \$1,000,000 worth of property in Pittsburgh, and had stopped all the transportation of the United States.

Yesterday the *Herald* writer went to Schwab's restaurant, a little narrow den in the basement of a five-story brick block on First street. The sign of "Justus W. Schwab, lager beer," appeared over the basement. Nobody seemed to be active in the neighborhood except some carters who were filling and emptying their wagons on the opposite side of the street. Passing around certain empty beer barrels in the area of the basement, we entered the saloon, which was only about eight feet wide and perhaps thirty feet deep, and saw nothing to indicate a revolution except a yellow-haired German woman selling the beer. She had a good

English pronunciation and a rather interesting face, somewhat brightened, as if by hearing radical doctrines. At two or three little tables, opposite the pigmy bar where the beer was served, low, noisy, uninteresting-looking people were sipping their mandagora and hearing a very dirty looking, pale-skinned, black-eyed and passionate looking man of French, rather than German extraction, make bits of speeches in lieu of washing himself. At the appearance of the *Herald* reporter this man assumed an attitude, left his chair and charged wildly into his discourse. Over the bar was a plaster of Paris green-colored bust of Shakspeare, and in cheap frames about the place were prints of the Column Vendome being pulled down and of the sacking of the Hotel de Ville in Paris. Any Americans who had been in Europe and had traversed certain quarters of Paris could see that this German, Schwab, was an imitation Frenchman, whose business lay in his prints and vaccinations about a communism he scarcely understood. The French communist has a socialistic nature, native and to the manner born. The German socialist always appears to be a gassy, second-hand business chap, retailing his communism in lager beer glasses. Many Americans visited Schwab's restaurant yesterday, and they all came away with the same estimate—that the proprietor was a fraud, who hardly knew how to disguise himself.

It was to police head-quarters yesterday afternoon that Mr. Schwab transferred himself from this little lager beer den where he had left the yellow-haired woman aforesaid to measure out the beer and take the half-dimes. Anybody can go to police head-quarters who has any possible errand relating to public administration. The neglected wife goes there to have her truant husband hunted up. The genteel drunkard drops in there to recover one of his diamond pins that he may have given away in forgetfulness the previous night. The preacher goes there who has had difficulty

with his congregation and is shut out from his pulpit. The congregation goes there also to ask whether they cannot justly banish their preacher. All human nature which is out at the brain or the rump seeks police head-quarters to pour out its grievances to four very worldly men who constitute the commission. These commissioners have all filled certain positions in politics, the military, or the public service. To read about them in the newspapers and in the political column, they would appear to be of very little general account; but while exercising their functions at the head of two or three thousand powerful giants, who are to keep the peace in New York, they inspire the respect of the hardiest. The head of the board is an old, cool, regular army officer, "Baldy" Smith. His leading civilian associate is a retired dry goods merchant, with a natural affinity for politics and public affairs, Clinton Wheeler. The two other commissioners were in the war, and know all about danger. When Mr. Schwab approached this marble building on that little street in the exact centre of the city, and passed the uniformed policemen, grim as common soldiers of the regular army, and climbed to the second story and gave his name, he possibly began to feel, through his limited and excited intellect, the precise meaning of government in a great city.

Passing through resonant marble halls, with ceilings and sides also perfectly white and solid, and the floor below him, next to the door, already cut off from exit if the commissioners were so minded, Schwab saw four quiet, nonchalant, keen-looking men, already aware of himself and his errand. They had nothing to say in particular. The business of speech was thrown on Mr. Schwab. In such company the hero of the suburbs loses his identity, and begins to reason that intellect and experience have their weight in the common affairs of men.

Mr. Schwab made known his business, as will be

more thoroughly detailed in another part of this report.

If he had come from another nation or court as an ambassador, he would not have been allowed to tell more completely his tale. It appeared that he wanted the police commissioners to withdraw all the police from the region of Tompkins square, so that the workingmen, as Schwab called them, could make their own platform, and be unrestricted in their remarks.

Schwab did not know that the very night before a police spy was in his saloon, listening to all the conversation that happened there, where it was openly proposed not only to burn specific parts of the city of New York, but the entire city. Schwab did not know that the police fully understood that, in open though heated conversation, he himself had indorsed the evil proceedings of the Pittsburgh mob. He regarded himself in the face of the police commissioners as the representative of a great political body some day in the future to arise in American society and hail Schwab as its apostle. The police commissioners looked upon him as a wicked man ejected from another society into ours, and to be watched in all his goings and comings; yet they listened to him with perfect composure, and their silence distressed Schwab more than if an argument had been held.

This man's business was the sale of beer by a woman over a petty counter to unknown and dirty people, and while, meantime, subsisting on the proceeds of the beverage, he went to and fro, a great man in an innocent region. Some future time we may take up the picture of Schwab before the police commissioners and do him justice. The present is no time to indicate the social impudence as well as the political impotence of such a character, freshly arrived in the western world. He has been in the country eight or ten years. Most of the men who struck on American railroads have spent their lives among us, and enjoy to a great degree

the sympathy of men and women. The police commissioners told Schwab, without any emphasis, that they sent police to all gatherings on either the east or west side of New York city, and never made an exception, and they did not appear to think that the Tompkins square meeting was of any great importance in any way. The bold conduct of the commissioners represented the general effect of civilization upon the barbarian, and the athletic and gaseous wild-eyed Teuton finally contented himself by asking the police, in its diplomatic capacity, if they would not send a very discreet man to Tompkins square in charge of the police.

"Yes," said the head of the commission, dryly, "all our men are very discreet, Mr. Schwab—and very cool."

Schwab said that he had made ample arrangements to preserve order and peace, and that a hundred men of his own faction had been detailed to act as conservators of the peace at the meeting, and that there need be no fear of any riot.

General Smith responded that their men were not legal officers, and could not be recognized as such, and that a police force would certainly be on hand.

Schwab then desired to know how near the police would be, to which the general replied, "As near as circumstances may require."

Schwab then left, evidently in a discontented frame of mind.

Ten stages of the Twenty-third street and Broadway line were stationed in front of police head-quarters to carry reinforcements to the meeting in case of any riotous outbreak.

When Schwab retired, the police commissioners put their heads together in the full light of their responsibility to the public and the nation, their political differences entirely forgotten, although they belong to opposite political parties. It was the opinion of three

of them that Schwab's mien intimated a conflict; that he came there to ask that the police be withdrawn in order to make the argument, in case of a riot, that it only happened because the police were present. One of the police commissioners, however, reasoning from different premises, argued that there would be no fight at all. They had never spared any effort, however, to get their forces into the best condition, and to enjoy it; and the excellence of a police commission over a partisan political force was never better demonstrated. Descending into the yard of this station, where a squad of men were drilling with clubs, there seemed to be the all-pervading passion of the police to meet the rioters, if it were necessary, and close the question at once as to who rule New York. The police force knew perfectly well that the people of the United States had them in view on that Wednesday afternoon. They also knew that it is the province of rioters in every country to meet the police, as the visible representatives of authority, with hate.

The police commissioners granted the socialists the right to hold a meeting on the score revealed by one of them to the *Herald* man.

"Had we refused to let them meet together they would have said the police are scared. We let them meet because we are not scared. We make no concession to socialism, except the right to make itself absurd. And we were never so ready—we never will be again—to fight rioters as now. If the Dead Rabbits want to try it, now is their time and ours."

The rough classes of New York felt toward the afternoon that they could not cope with the police and militia preparations. On the east side of town had been two great experiences—the draft and the socialistic riots; on the west side the Orange riots. The police force of New York is one of the most formidable in the world. Yesterday it was formidably armed with long locust clubs and with revolvers and fixed ammuni-

tion. It was abetted by the telegraph wire. The square where the meeting was to be held was connected with all the armories through the medium of two neighboring police stations by wire. So was every hotel in the city connected with police head-quarters. "We fear nothing but the torch," said a leading police authority.

Last night was hot, but there was little wind; the torch itself was neutralized. The militia, equally with the police, were ready for the fray. Throughout the day the presence of men in uniform, riding on the street cars or fearlessly perambulating the infected quarter, gave the rioters, if such there were, a sense of vast and spontaneous public preparation.

Nor was this lost on the working classes when they entered Tompkins square and saw even the stone gate posts placarded with advice from their fellows, saying, "Do not arouse the Tiger!" meaning the laws and their penalty. Hundreds silently read these missionary placards and began to think.

Throughout the German quarter were many sensible men and women acting as counsellors to the men and youths. These had their influence.

"Sir," said a Philadelphia man to one of the leading police officers, "your New York population, that I have heard called the worst, is the best in America. They have an intelligence that is so easily communicable."

As night approached the region near Tompkins square looked as if a fair was coming off, rather than a riot. Brilliant lights adorned the utility stores and markets, and fruits and vegetables attracted the children and women. It looked as if Epicurus had taken out a charter to appease and tantalize starvation. That great region of tenements, where every house rose to five stories, and every story was a domestic picture—nay, every window was never more beautiful and versatile than last night. Beer flowed like a river; tobacco

was blown from the lips of burghers and tramps. He who begged received all he wanted; he who gave was no novelty. Little children ran up and down those dangerous streets. Young mothers suckled their babes on the "Commune" steps which led up to the tenement houses. Young lovers talked carelessly in the face of the possibility of battle. Street cars ran up and down, illustrating the beauties of uninterrupted transportation in the presence of a community of the strikers' sympathizers. No part of New York is more beautiful by night than the quarter of the poor. When Broadway is dark as Egypt and given up to Cyprians and strangers, the avenues near the East river are full of light on summer nights, and the *gamins* are the monkeys who keep the show lively.

About dusk the lights began to gleam and glimmer in the quadrangle of tall brick tenements surrounding the square. The windows were all up and gaping as for breath. Out from them hung women and children, and in but few instances men, viewing with eager interest the gathering of the crowds below. The enthusiasm, as a general thing, was very slight, but now and then, in guttural German accents or the more mellifluous tones of "Old Ireland," came expressions laudatory of the workingmen's occasion. From none of the houses were any banners exhibited, and the tops of the adjacent buildings, which, it was thought, would be thronged with people, presented no signs of life whatever. But the sidewalks were everywhere crowded with infantile treasures, adolescent youth of both sexes and mature and indifferent people of all ages and nationalities. It was generally remarked that a more peaceable assemblage of people had never come together.

The hurrying hundreds gathered in the naked, sandy square before dark. A few societies marched in with red ribbons at their buttonholes, but the trade societies generally kept away. So did the tramps and bummers. A genial public opinion, the outcrop of our out-of-door

hearty society, protected New York from all forms of dead rabbitism. The working people were particular about their company.

On the gates and bars at Tompkins square, never defaced nor torn off, was this word of warning:

DON'T UNCHAIN THE TIGER!

COMRADES—Stand still where you are, and think before you go further in the troubles around us. An hour's work may cost millions of money and hundreds of lives! All the lives lost will not be on one side only, and the money will come back on the people to be paid for out of the taxes on us all. Powder burns more than one hand when it is used. Don't burn your own hands with it!

These strikes are doing great damage to business, and will cost a great deal of money. Neither capital nor labor can afford to stand such heavy losses, and it is better to work on, knowing that a peaceable and honorable course will gain in the end, than by doing wrong to get an advantage which cannot last.

Keep on the side of law, and keep the law on your side! If we want to right our wrongs we must keep in the path of right.

There is a great deal of talk about capital being the enemy of labor. This is not true. Capital and labor must work together. The capitalist and the laborer are partners in business, and it requires good faith on both sides to make business profitable. Neither can prosper alone.

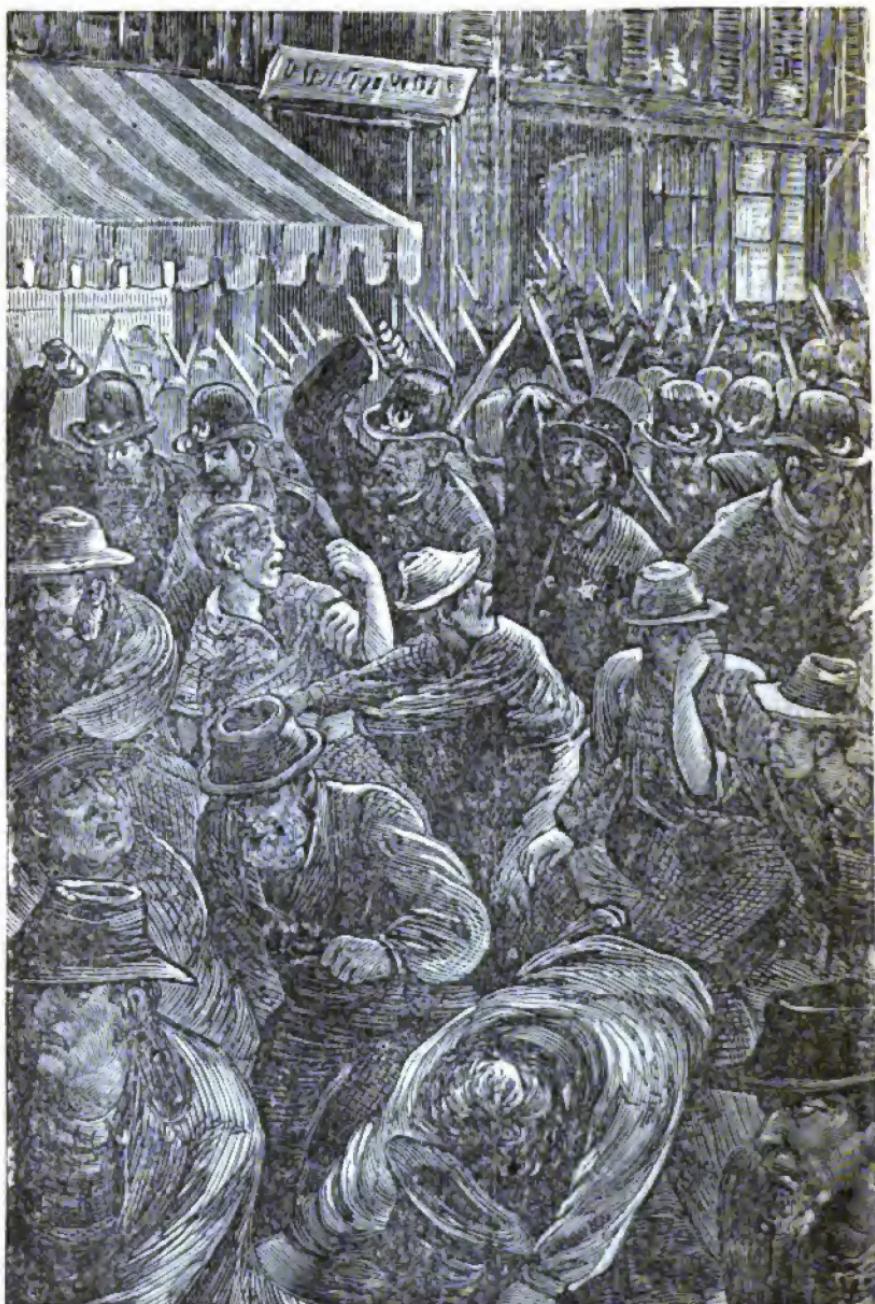
Beware of men who talk violence, riots and bloodshed! They are your worst enemies. All the expenses, and losses, and damages will be paid by the city or State, and only add so much the more to your taxes. Every workingman who talks about riots is preparing to lay more taxes on his own shoulders. The times are hard now. Will you make them harder? The best way is to go to work, keep the wheels moving

in all branches of business, and avoid everything that makes an unfriendly feeling with those who have all the risks of the business, both for themselves and you.

Turn away from bad advisers, and, above all, "*Don't unchain the Tiger!*"

When the tumbler lights were started on the stand where the speakers of English were expected, the crowd surged forward in a lazy way toward the stand, and they seemed to be a pretty decent crowd, with nothing about them of a sanguinary character. Mr. John Swinton, the most educated and high-toned member of the International or Communistic Society, had been decided upon as chairman of the meeting, and certainly he was entitled to that distinction from the very fact of possessing more brains and intelligence than the whole of the Workingmen's Union put together; but a certain Mr. Conroy thought otherwise, and he usurped the seat of Mr. Swinton, and proceeded to deliver himself of an harangue which was not alone uncalled for but was eminently discourteous. If Conroy were drunk there would be some cue to the extraordinary exhibition he made of himself, but the tow-headed Irishman would persist in talking to the multitude before him, and he talked in a manner to make even that multitude sick of him. His talk was as follows: We demand that the different governments of the different States shall make an appraised value of the railroads within their limits, and when they have made a showing of their actual returns the country will see what the poor, humble and honest employés belonging to them are entitled to. The harvest, boys, is ripe, and we are the reapers. (Great cheers.)

Mr. John Swinton then came forward and said that gazing over such a sea of honest and intelligent faces gave him assurance that he was addressing no mob. "You are," said he, "as good as Henry Ward Beecher's congregation, and I think the comparison is rather in



**THE POLICE DISPERSING A PROCESSION OF RIOTERS IN EIGHTH STREET,
NEW YORK.**

your favor. I think the Police Commissioners did well and wisely in permitting this meeting to take place, and Mayor Ely has won an imperishable laurel by saying there was no power in the constitution to prevent a meeting like this from taking place. I speak to you in presence of eight thousand rifles and eight hundred clubs that cover you. And now (here the speaker raised his voice to its loudest tones) what is this social volcano that has brought us here together—this power that has 100,000 Americans and \$1,000,000,000 within its mercy?"

Here there was an interruption by Conroy, who said that the speaker was getting too sensational.

"On one side," continued the speaker, "we see the movement of workingmen, anxious only to restore the rate of wages to which they are justly entitled, put back to where it was before the 1st of last July, and on the other hand we see the steady and relentless disposition on the part of capital to cut men's wages down so low as to make life a choice between starvation and suicide. Glory to the militia who refused to fire on the strikers! [Great applause.] Glory to the 16th Pennsylvania, that refused to be the accomplices of the murderers of the innocent men, women and children of Pittsburgh!".

Mr. Conroy, who continued to act as chairman, then introduced Mr. Leander Thompson, who read the following resolutions to the meeting:

The Resolutions.

Resolved, That the workingmen's party of the city and county of New York tender their heartfelt sympathies to the railroad men now on strike in different localities in the country.

Resolved, That we consider all legalized chartered corporations, such as railroad, banking, mining, manufacturing, gas, etc., under the present system of opera-

tion, as the most despotic and heartless enemies of the working classes.

Resolved, That their acts of tyranny and oppression have been the cause of demoralizing thousands of honest workingmen, thereby driving them to acts of madness, desperation and crime that they would not otherwise have been guilty of had they been justly dealt by.

Resolved, That as these chartered companies have been the primal cause of their employés' miseries and of their consequences, we hold them morally responsible for all acts of violence that proceed from and are the legitimate results of their tyranny and oppression.

Resolved, That we view with alarm the growing influence and power of these corporations over the legislation of the State and nation, and believe if that influence continues, the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of the government will become totally demoralized, the rights of the masses destroyed, and, instead of the voice of the people, the power of the almighty dollar will become absolute and supreme.

Resolved, That we do earnestly request and advise all the working classes throughout the country to unite as speedily as possible for the purpose of forming a political party, based on the natural rights of labor. Let us make common cause against a common enemy.

Resolved, That nothing short of a political revolution through the ballot box on the part of the working classes will remedy the evils under which they suffer.

Resolved, That it is the purpose of the workingmen's party to confiscate, through legislation, the unjustly-gotten wealth of these legalized and chartered corporation thieves that are backed by the Shylocks and moneyed syndicates of Europe and of this country.

Resolved, That we love law and order, peace and tranquillity, justice and righteousness above all else, and deprecate anything and everything that will pervert them, and that we are ever ready to give our lives in defence of the inherent rights of man.

Address to President Hayes.

To RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, President of the United States:

SIR:—We, the workingmen of the city of New York, in mass-meeting assembled, acting from a sense of duty, and prompted by true feelings of humanity and a sincere desire for peace and harmony in society, do earnestly and respectfully call your attention to the serious condition of affairs now existing, and which have existed for some time past between the operatives and the officials of the mining and railroad corporations in several States of the Union. The crimson tide of the life-blood of citizens, soldiers, and hardy workmen have already mingled in sanguinary strife. The heavens have been lit up with the lurid glare of incendiary fires that have reduced to ashes millions of property. Men have fallen beneath deadly blows dealt by unseen and unknown hands, until it seems as if evil days had fallen upon us as a nation. Three millions of the bone and sinew of the country converted into wandering vagabonds, and a large portion of those employed on the verge of starvation. Do these evils that have assumed such magnitude and proportions as to necessitate the issuance of a proclamation on your part to preserve the peace, come within the scope or jurisdiction of national legislation? Whatever may be the cause of these evils, the only remedy applied so far has been the hangman's rope and the soldier's bullet. Think you, Mr. President, these are effectual and permanent remedies that will insure henceforth peace and good order in society? We think not. Whatever cause produces these antagonistic relations between employer and employé must be sought out and removed.

We address you, Mr. President, because you are one having great power and authority conferred upon you by the Constitution. You are commander-in-chief of the armed forces of these United States, and during the recess of Congress they are at your absolute disposition.

Need we suggest to you the wisdom of extreme caution in the exercise of your national military power, lest the breach of the peace be widened, class feeling intensified, and public safety more endangered? We think, Mr. President, that the situation of affairs is of such an important and alarming character that they justify on your part the immediate calling of an extra session of Congress. These terrible occurrences and disturbances between the employers and employés of mining and railroad companies that have startled and shocked the community of late involve, as you well know, what is termed the relations between labor and capital. Many are of the opinion that any interference or action on the part of the government to adjust these relations are contrary and inimical to the genius and spirit of modern civilization and republican institutions; that the function of the government is simply to prevent any violent collisions in society resulting from the antagonistic relations of these two elements performing such important functions in the affairs of human society, and that throughout the history of the world so far have been eternally at sword's points with each other.

Those who take this view of the matter seem to overlook the great fact that legislation has always dealt with at least one of these factors—namely, capital; and has almost entirely ignored the other—namely, labor; which is, in our opinion, the primal cause of the present difficulties. Had legislation afforded the same opportunities and guaranteed the same rights and privileges to labor that it has to capital these evil days would not have befallen us. When railroad kings can build palaces to live in, costing millions, and others die bequeathing hundreds of millions to their children, and boast while living that they never troubled themselves about the election of representatives, but bought them up after they were elected, and used them as a means to enrich themselves at the expense of their employés and the general public, it

seems about time to consider whether or not legislation cannot confer some justice and rights upon labor as well as privileges to capital.

We have always considered that law should be the synonym of justice. Has not Congress the power under the constitution to govern and control, for the benefit of the whole people, the highways and water-courses of the nation and regulate its internal commerce and trade ? Is there any constitutional law that prohibits the State or general government from controlling or supervising the mineral resources of the nation ? Should not, also, the telegraph system be connected with our postal department ? and last, but not least, a governmental monetary system established that would supersede the present individual corporate banking institutions that are nothing more nor less than parasites on the body politic. All of these chartered institutions exist by a system of dividends or profits that proceed directly from the laboring classes. In their efforts to make those dividends the blood and marrow are extracted from labor, until finally, maddened and desperate by the exacting tyranny of capital, rendered ignorant and brutish by poverty, it resorts to brute force and violence to redress its wrongs. It cannot be expected that men acting under the impetus of starvation should act wisely or well, or adhere to moral principle. The very individuals who are most loud in their denunciation of the acts of the strikers, placed in their situation, might do, possibly, if they had the courage, far worse.

We, as a class, view with alarm the growth and power of these gigantic corporations. Wielding thousands of millions of dollars' capital as a power they are fast demoralizing and corrupting the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the governments of both State and nation ; and the rights of labor and the liberties of the common people, if we continue on in this course, will soon be swept away (and here let us

state that W. M. Evarts, a member of your Cabinet, has recommended as a measure of political reform in this State the restriction of suffrage on the basis of a moneyed qualification, thereby offering a direct insult to every workingman in this State); and when they are gone the revolution commences and the emancipation of the white wages slaves of the North will cost the Republic more blood and treasure than ever the emancipation of the black chattel slaves of the South did, and God knows that cost enough.

We look to you, Mr. President, to be vigilant in respect of our interests and welfare, for the prosperity and perpetuity of this nation rests upon the principle of justice to labor. Class legislation is the ruin and eventual downfall of any nation. Hoping you will reply to us through the columns of the public press, expressing somewhat your views upon the situation,

We remain with great respect

B. KAUFMAN,
G. WONTER,
A. WALSTER,
J. SCHWAB,
E. HALL,
LEANDER THOMPSON,

On behalf of the workingmen of the city of New York.

After reading these resolutions and the address Mr. Thompson spoke as follows in support of the same:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Citizens :—I am here to-night to propose a remedy for strikes and hard times. My remedy is that government shall become the superintendent of education, property and trade, and the employer of the people on the basis of equal rights, opportunities and equitable compensation. My motto is, "No Rich, No Poor." The age in which we live is pregnant with great political and social problems which are forcing themselves upon us for solution, and as we are more favorably circumstanced than other nations

the duty rests with us of experimenting in the science of sociology until the hallowed object of perfecting human government is accomplished. Though thus far our efforts have not been crowned with the degree of success that was anticipated and formidable obstacles still remain to be overcome, let us not relax but rather redouble our efforts to stay the swelling tide of corruption and strife and to inaugurate an era of virtue and peace. The gigantic proportions of peculation and fraud developing in political circles and the increase of crime and inequality throughout the land are mortifying to us as a people, and, as the scheming speculators and legalized monopolists are growing richer and the useful classes poor, a crisis will soon be reached most fearful to contemplate, unless measures are speedily devised to arrest the evil.

We live upon a land flowing with the milk and honey of human subsistence, yet gaunt poverty sweeps over society, spreading distress, crime and premature death. Mammoth storehouses are filled to repletion with the products of industry, while thousands of producers famish for want of bread. Dense forests and rank grass cover millions of fertile acres, while houseless, homeless, anxious laborers loiter in the market begging for the privilege to toil. The development of labor-saving machinery marvellously increases the power to produce wealth, which should lighten the burden of the workmen and advance the prosperity of society; whereas it is swerved from a true and healthy course and enters into harmful competition with those whose living depends upon a demand for their labor. Though the earth teems with annual harvests and the hands of labor produce an abundance of every convenience and luxury of life, yet, under the baneful influence of a defective system of government, which fails to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of their equal and natural right to the soil, and under an Ishmaelitish system of commerce and industry, which regards land, as well as

products, as an article of traffic and monopoly, society is divided into landlords and tenants, capitalists and laborers, rich and poor, and conditions of anxiety and antagonism are engendered which poison every sphere of social life.

After a careful investigation of the causes of political and social evils we are constrained to believe that they are the legitimate effects of an anti-democratic feature in our government and of an antagonistic system of industry and commerce. Therefore, to expect a prosperous condition of affairs by a mere change of officers, the exposure of fraud or the denunciation of crime, while the present system remains unchanged, is to expect results contrary to the nature of things, for the opportunities open to our public officers to acquire wealth by an abuse of the power reposed in them and the fabulous fortunes often realized through legalized methods of fraud prove too great a temptation for frail human nature to resist. Therefore, when a reform has to be undertaken (to be successful) it must be supported by the whole people that feel oppressed; and as they are largely in the majority, they have the power to speedily and peacefully change the form of government under which we live. The necessity of a thorough change is manifest, and numerous are the plans proposed and the efforts made to mitigate the evils complained of; but mitigation is not enough. We believe the time has passed for fragmentary propositions of reform to awaken any considerable degree of enthusiasm in the people or to be of any permanent value to society if accomplished. Though the efforts to extend the right of suffrage, the formation of trade societies, protective unions, strikes for more equitable terms of time and wages, etc., are praiseworthy manifestations of the right spirit, and have been and still are valuable as a means of education; yet to arrest the further growth of fraud and remove the giant evils there is need of a more comprehensive scheme than any hith-

erto proposed, one that shall conserve the best interests of every useful class and calling, and unite their scattered forces in one consolidated army of progress. To realize the necessary reform and place the future developments of society upon a harmonizing upward grade, the government and industry of the country should be reconstructed upon the principles of natural right, political equality and mutual protection, and there are two methods by which this may be accomplished. The most speedy one is by political action, and the other is by the organization of labor on the basis of mutual interest.

We live under governments that may be peacefully so amended by political action as to secure the sovereignty of the people, and the subordination of their legislative and executive officers, making them just in principle, wise in policy, and honest in administration. But the present constitutions exclude a majority of citizens from a voice at the polls, and set aside the cardinal principle of popular sovereignty by clothing the legislators with authority to enact laws, grant privileges, and appropriate public property without submitting their acts to the people for ratification (technically the referendum). Further, acting under their authority, the officers to whom their administration has been committed have issued depreciated currency, have chartered banks and legalized interest on money, and thereby imposed upon society the most oppressive system of aristocracy (except that of the land) that ever afflicted the civilized world. Therefore the governments are unjust in principle, unwise, partial and oppressive in legislation, and complex, extravagant, and subject to fraud in execution.

Therefore, we present the following propositions of reform for the consideration of the people of this country, believing them to be true, and their adoption necessary for our prosperity as a nation:

First. All members of the human family are entitled

by nature to use sufficient of the common elements (land, water, air and light) to maintain their existence and properly develop their being.

Second. Land being an inalienable natural right (to which all men are alike entitled), and not property, should be supervised by government for the use of its citizens upon the basis of equality.

Third. The unconsumed property and other advantages resulting from the experience of the past should be a common inheritance to the living generation.

Fourth. The currency of a nation should be issued by government only, be a legal tender and bear no interest, thereby protecting the people from the snares and frauds of gambling money-changers.

Fifth. As all just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed, the right of suffrage should be secured to every citizen of mature age, without regard to sex or condition.

Sixth. To sweep away the present multitudinous and vexatious laws, and to introduce a more simple code, more easy to understand and observe; also to protect society against usurpation and peculation by public officials, and help to educate the people in political science, the government should be democratic. Though legislation may be done by representatives, the people should reserve the sovereign right to ratify or reject the acts of their public servants, and to protect the personal rights of the individual against any undue legislation in respect to freedom of speech, religious belief, habits of dress and diet, and the like.

Seventh. So long as the existence of an army or navy may be deemed necessary, they should be remodelled to correspond with the principles of equal pay and rations; and opportunities should be afforded to rise from the ranks to the command, and from the forecastle to the quarter deck.

Eighth. To avoid the evil consequences of official patronage and party bias, all officers should receive

their commissions direct from the people, while clerks, mechanics and other operatives should be taken from the list of competent applicants, as their names stand recorded, or be drawn, as the names of jurors are drawn, from the wheel.

Ninth. To secure the greatest advantages of economy and convenience resulting from the improvements of the age, and to guard against the cupidity of contractors, the fraudulent principle of interest on money, the impositions of the banking system, and the extortions practised by railroads, gas companies and other organized monopolies, the system of contracting public work should be abolished, and all public improvements, such as post roads, railroads, gas works, water works, mining operations, canals, post-offices, telegraphs, expresses, etc., should be public property and be conducted by government, at reasonable rates, for the interest of society.

Tenth. To advance material science, develop the resources of the country, and protect the useful classes against the avarice of capitalists or the derangements of trade, the various branches of useful industry should be instituted by the government upon equitable principles, as to time and compensation, and thereby furnish employment to those who might otherwise be idle and suffer the pangs of poverty, or be tempted to crime.

Eleventh. To provide for the proper education of the people, schools, colleges and institutions of science should be supported by the government, and be free to all; and to enable the people to convene frequently to consider subjects of public interest, and review the acts and propositions of their public servants, the primary or public school houses should be open at least two evenings in each week for the use of the people.

Twelfth. The greatest degree of benefit to be realized from combined effort will flow from the most comprehensive union of interests, upon the principle of equality; to attain which, government must ultimately

absorb and direct every department of use, extending to the citizens equal opportunities, equal compensation for services performed, and equal protection in seasons of sickness, disability and old age. Accordingly, let us hasten the realization of a just and wise system of government, established upon the principles above stated.

Chairman Conroy made another speech to the following effect :

These capitalists who deprive the poor workingmen of their just wages should be sent to the Dry Tortugas. They are the men that is tryin' to destroy our country (?) The toilin' masses of New York has built up this city, and they ought to have something to say it —they ought to own half what they built! (Cries of "Hi, hi.")

This ended the proceedings, and as soon as the crowd ascertained there was to be no more speeches they one and all began to move out of the square.

Two calcium lights threw their rays over the small stand set apart for the speakers on the German stand. It was a small affair, about twelve feet square. It had no steps to it and the speakers had to scramble up on it as best they could. It was also devoid of all ornament, not even possessing a flag, like the main stand, from which the English speakers were delivering their harangues. Justus Schwab, the leading spirit of the meeting, and representative German socialists sat at a table in conversation with several individuals of advanced socialistic views, with long hair and beards and a generally frowsy appearance. Some two thousand auditors, principally workingmen without their coats, and a mass of boys surrounded the German stand. The meeting was opened by Mr. Schwab. He spoke as follows : "Fellow-workmen, the newspapers have stated that we are a mob, incendiaries, and I know not what else that is bad. I ask you by your orderly conduct to-night to disprove these base and calumnious

assertions. I have now the pleasure to introduce to you Dr. Otto Walzer, editor of the *Arbeiter Stimme*."

The editor of the *Voice of Labor* said :—Thousands of people have gathered peaceably here to-night, fellow-workmen, to discuss the question of the railroad strike which is causing so much interest at the present moment over the breadth and length of the land. What has brought about this misunderstanding and want of intimate relations between employer and employed ? Who is to blame ? That is the problem that we have to solve this night. How sad it is that such a state of affairs should reign in this great and free land ! It behooves the workman, for his own interests and those of his family, to study the questions at stake, for they are the questions of the hour. The workmen in this country have been ground down for many long years, and treated by capitalists with the least possible consideration. America was, in days gone by, the workman's paradise. To emigrate to this fair land he abandoned kith and kin and all that was dear to him. They came here willing and anxious to work and desirous of proving themselves worthy citizens of the greatest republic the world ever saw. They came by thousands, and, through their untiring efforts, they have created out of a primeval wilderness where desolation formerly reigned a cultivated land, extending in its mighty dimensions from the borders of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. They have built railroads and telegraph lines ; they have explored the rich mineral resources of the country, and have done their utmost to develop the natural riches of the country. What thanks have they from the community at large ? None at all, I fear.

Look at the actual picture of to-day. Hundreds of thousands of workingmen are living in sorrow and pain, out of employment, and not knowing where they can get food for themselves or their families. The millions of drops of sweat spilt by them in the construction of

railroad and rolling material thought nought of, and the profits on the same are absorbed by greedy railroad capitalists. What reck they if the roads were built with young bodies if they can only make capital and declare dividends? The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher has told you that you can live for \$1 a day (hisses) but we want not the counsel of such men. Vanderbilt is dead and his millions are fought for by his successors. Who helped him to make them but you and your brethren—and in return you are left to starve. In all lands, here and in Europe, these "lazy builders" trade on your energies without recompense. Yes, the aristocrats live on your vitals (hisses). A man has a right to live in this civilized country, has he not? (Cries, "He has, he has.")

A Western newspaper correspondent called Mr. Jonas, then spoke, and alluded to the strikers at Pittsburgh. He had good authority for saying that they had nothing to do with the burning and pillage which happened in that city, and which he greatly regretted. "It is our duty," he said, "to help the men on strike, for they are in the right. What we workingmen must do is to elect our own men to the Legislature and Congress, and not believe in reformers like Samuel J. Tilden (hisses), or to be so stupid as to be longer deluded by the promises of Tammany politicians. Let us, like the old Romans, fight under certain banners. Let us organize, organize." (Cheers.)

The next speaker was Mr. Winter, a cigar maker. He was very bitter in his attack on bad members of the clergy, bloated aristocrats and bloated bondholders, the *Staats Zeitung* and other New York papers. He advised workingmen only to read workingmen's newspapers. If we depend on capitalists to help us as our leaders they will drive us to desperation. From them we must expect no kindness or honorable treatment. Let us rather put our trust in co-operation. Socialism is hated by the clergy, but it is our only salvation; for

it means emancipation and deliverance from the capitalists' thralldom. The speaker then indulged in a long invective against Samuel J. Tilden, which was loudly cheered. Railroads and telegraph lines, he maintained, should be the property of the nation. Why is it that a country which can support 400,000,000 of people can not now support 40,000,000? Our government shall be a republic, but not a rotten one. It wants remodeling, and the corrupt officials must be driven from office.

Mr. Savery, of Newark, then abused Tom Scott as a rascal, and said Vanderbilt was the same. He said, "We fought for the republic when in danger, and we will not now be driven out of it by the tyrannical capitalists. Labor will not become free by complaints; let us, therefore, organize a party of our own. We can accomplish it very soon. Let us make our voice heard all over the land as social democrats. Capitalists dress their mistresses in silks and satins, and our wives wear cotton gowns."

At this stage of the proceedings Justice Schwab said:

"I see a disturbance is threatened by a certain class of people here. Let us vacate the stand, and let there be no breach of the peace. There is no time to read the resolutions."

The stand was then vacated in a few instants.

Fairly computed, there were probably less than ten thousand persons on the ground. Nearest the stands were the internationalists and society men; next to them a row three or four deep of mere listeners; and on the rim an ever-moving congregation of idlers, who only served the purpose of deluding one into the belief that it was a great throng. The crowd was generally tame and apparently aimless. It lacked enthusiasm. The speakers themselves seemed to feel the want of sympathy that is ordinarily expressed in hearty cheers, and were content with the mild hurrahs of the few malcontents who surrounded the platforms. The railway men did not put in an appearance, or if so, in such

small numbers that their presence was not notable, while of societies the representation was small and without organization. In fact, judging from the comments of the more intelligent, the occasion was regarded as one which had been created for the benefit of a few demagogues and ward politicians, rather than for the illustration of any broad principle.

From the beginning to the end of the meeting there was not the slightest exhibition of a dangerous purpose on the part of the gathering, and incendiary remarks, whether in English or German, fell upon the ear still-born. The orators apparently had lost heart. The stands were thronged with noisy boys, and there was an utter want of the vim and snap that characterizes an ordinary political meeting. Perhaps all this result was due to the fact known to every person on the ground, that while not a policeman showed his uniform in the crowd, or invited the slightest antagonism, five hundred sturdy men, armed to the teeth, were within earshot, ready to sweep down on the instant at any point where a disturbance might occur, and nearly a thousand more were in reserve, waiting with ready hands to preserve peace and maintain the fair name of the metropolis. Certain it is, that the so-called "dangerous class" of New York, if they were present, never in their history witnessed such a masterly preparation to punish, and, if necessary, crush them, as was shown last night. The action of the police force was simply superb. The men seemed to rise out of the ground, and when the meeting dissolved, and the four calcium burners that had been used to light the square were extinguished, the long blue line that reached across the square, and steadily pressed before it those who loitered, told the story in five minutes that communism in New York was a fiasco and a fraud. The utmost good nature prevailed, the sidewalks of the square rang with the cries of hucksters, women and children lined the steps of the adjacent houses, or inno-

cently elbowed their way among the multitude, and faces generally wore anything but the expression of excitement or anxiety which might be expected to attach to the occasion. Of the eight or ten thousand thus assembled, probably not more than three thousand were actively identified with the trades unions and international societies, and many of the former openly expressed their condemnation of the attempt of a few men to create further trouble and distress at this time. The bulk of the crowd was composed of people who curiously desired to see what was going on, and took good care to be sufficiently near the highways to make an early exit in case of a demonstration by police or military. The beer-sellers of the neighborhood were evidently the only part of the community benefited by this "great" meeting, while the surgeons at the several stations, who doubtless expected an abundance of work, quietly folded away their probes and sticking-plaster, and lay down to pleasant dreams.

The greatly vaunted meeting proved the practical superiority of New York city's condition over that of any American community. If partly unemployed, our population has versatile, good and various resources possessed by no other dense society. The wave and the shore, Ceres and Neptune, give New Yorkers sustenance and pleasure even in the worst times. Our people have had some experience, and have learned more than any other urban population. They are not over-stimulated by bounty manufactures, but, being a commercial and social class, take life as it comes, avoid theorists and demagogues, dodge the police and military, and leave Tompkins square to those who appreciate its eccentric nostrums. Poor people yesterday vindicated New York, resuscitated it, and stopped the strike.

The communist meeting having proved so inglorious a failure, people breathed freer. The danger was over in New York, and the country had nothing to dread

from its chief city. From this time, though the troops were held on duty for several days longer, no trouble occurred. The city gradually settled down into its accustomed quiet, and on the 27th of July the First Division was relieved from duty by the Governor, with thanks for the soldierly bearing and conduct of its members.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STRIKE IN NEW JERSEY.

Apprehensions of Trouble in Jersey City—The Pennsylvania Company Ask Protection—A Strike Averted on the Pennsylvania Road—Preparations of the Authorities—The Military Ordered under Arms—Scenes in Jersey City on the 23d—The Mob Overawed—Proclamation of the Governor—The Danger over on the Pennsylvania Road—Strikes on the Morris & Essex and New Jersey Central Roads—Troubles at Phillipsburg—End of the Strike.

THE New York Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Central Railroad of New Jersey, the Erie Railroad, the Lehigh Valley Railroad, and the Morris and Essex Division of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad, terminate at Jersey City and Hoboken, opposite New York. As the strike had affected all these roads to a greater or less degree, it was feared that it would break out in Jersey City. That place contains a large population of railroad men, and a much larger number of persons in the lowest walks of life who are always ripe for an outbreak. Lying just across the river from New York, a mob in Jersey City could be rapidly reinforced by the dangerous element of the metropolis. The authorities were resolved to be ready for the danger if it should come, and to meet it promptly and firmly.

The strike on the western lines and the outbreak in Pittsburgh produced great uneasiness and excitement on the New Jersey roads, and the governor was informed by many of the railroad officials that it might

be necessary for them to ask the protection of the State for their property. The officers of the Pennsylvania road were especially apprehensive, as the trouble on their main line had been so great. Trouble from employés was not dreaded so much as from the turbulent populace. An influx of russians from New York was feared, and the character of such reinforcements to the mob justified the gravest apprehensions.

During the night of Sunday, the 22d, and the small hours of Monday morning, Governor Bedle was in receipt of despatches from various points along the company's line, indicating approaching trouble at Trenton or Newark. These were afterwards learned to be premature, but they induced the governor to issue orders to the various military commands of the State to assemble at their armories ready for service.

By daylight the 4th Regiment, Colonel Steele commanding, had gathered, fully equipped, at their armory adjoining the City Hall, Newark avenue, Jersey City, and in halls close by. The 7th, 300 men, Colonel Angell commanding, was at Trenton; the 9th, 350 men, Colonel Hart, at Hoboken. The 1st and 5th of Newark, 800 men, under Colonels Allen and Bernard, were at Newark. Forty rounds of ammunition were supplied to each man. General Mott, in charge of the brigade, had his head-quarters at Trenton, and was in constant communication with Jersey City. When morning had fully come, it was felt that although the militia had possibly been called out rather hastily, yet it was not to be regretted. Jersey City's element of "roughs" seemed to have increased during the night. These men, who had come from unknown quarters, lounged near saloons and talked constantly about the

strike. No threat was made, but citizens generally grew uneasy as the day advanced.

The first shadow of actual trouble was at nine o'clock, when one of the employés called upon Superintendent Barker, and said he was authorized to inform him that the firemen would strike about noon. Mr. Barker expressed a wish that a committee of the men should wait upon him, and a committee of six did so. He argued with them that enough had already occurred to settle whatever questions had caused the strike, and that any further action of employés was not needed in that direction. If they left their engines, the mob in New York and Jersey City would avail themselves of the opportunity to enact here the terrible scenes of Pittsburgh and Baltimore; for all of which they would be primarily responsible. His talk had great influence. The men resolved not to strike, but to continue work unless assailed by the populace. A meeting that had been called for eleven o'clock was not held, and Mr. Barker, congratulating himself upon having such sensible men, felt assured that if he could prevent any demonstration from outsiders, he had attained his end.

Toward noon and later the arrival of regular troops on their way to Philadelphia became known. A battery of light artillery with four field-pieces arrived from Fort Hamilton and passed down the freight-yard to be loaded upon the flats. This display made the loungers on the corners and in the vicinity of the yards imagine that precautionary measures on a gigantic scale were taking place. They began to feel their unimportance and grew more excited. There were perhaps 700 or 800 of these unpleasant persons at different railway crossings and at open places. The liquor, that the

times are never hard enough to prevent them from obtaining, began to take effect, and they cursed the troops right bravely. And then they retired to the saloons for reinforcements. It had been the intention of the Chief of Police to close the rum-shops, but the order did not appear to be put into effect. About four P. M. everybody was very nervous, not excepting the authorities at police head-quarters. There they fell to work drafting a proclamation. While that literary business was in progress, the light artillery was made ready to start. They occupied four flats with their guns, five cattle-cars with the necessary number of horses, and two or three passenger coaches with the men. To these cars were added another coach, and a baggage car contained forty-seven of the regular troops that had arrived between one and two from New London, Connecticut. These were under the command of General Brennan. They landed at the Adams Express dock, which is retired and not within the ken of persons in the freight-yard.

The engine No. 723 that was to take the train stood in the yard, and some rough men gathered around threatening to shoot the engineer and conductors if they moved the train of troops. These officials naturally were frightened, and when it became generally known that threats had been made, all sorts of fears were expressed. A posse of seventy-five police were immediately placed from the station to Railroad avenue, and they pushed from the tracks a crowd, possibly of 1,500 men and boys. The men who had threatened the engineer disappeared. The train of troops was finally ready, and Mr. Barker said it should go. The engineer still hesitated. No other engineer would con-

sent to take his place. The others said they were not called upon to do any man's work except their own. At length the engineer consented to take charge of his engine if Mr. Barker would accompany him. The superintendent did not hesitate a moment.

The Millstone way passenger train was also just ready to start. Two tracks were cleared, and with this passenger train between it and the mob, the military train left the station. The engineer was in his place, supported by Mr. Barker. The two trains moved slowly down the track, side by side, faster and faster. Finally, while every one was expecting trouble, the military train shot quickly ahead, and the danger was over. The excitement immediately began to subside. Mr. Barker remained in the engine until the engineer no longer felt timorous about being alone.

Then the superintendent came back to his post and arranged for the further transportation of troops. At six o'clock twenty-seven sailors from the United States steamer Colorado, in charge of Lieutenant Einmerich, embarked for the Navy Yard at Philadelphia. They started on an hour and a half's notice. Their departure excited no demonstration. More troops arrived at half-past six from Newport. They comprised ten officers and 147 men of Batteries K, B, E, and F. Colonel R. F. Frank was in command. They filled four coaches, and started at half-past eight with a protection train on their exposed side. This train accompanied them only a short distance. At nine o'clock three batteries from Boston, numbering about as many men as the Newport detachment, arrived and departed without the least disturbance.

At six o'clock in the afternoon Governor Bedle issued the following proclamation :

To the People of the State of New Jersey:

In the present state of the public mind I warn all citizens to keep at their homes and places of business, avoiding all gatherings in the street, so as to give no encouragement by their presence to evil-disposed persons. Let every good citizen now, by word, act and sentiment, aid the authorities in securing perfect peace. Sheriffs and officers of cities are particularly requested to exert all their powers in a calm, judicious, but effectual way to protect life and property from all lawlessness, and thereby save the counties and cities from any liability under the statute for destruction of property by mobs. The whole power of the State will be used for the maintenance of the laws. I caution every person disposed to disturb the peace to desist at once, and thereby prevent any necessity for the use of the State force.

Given under my hand, at the city of Trenton, this 23d day of July, A. D. 1877. J. D. BEDLE.

By the Governor:

JOHN A. HALL, *Private Secretary.*

Meanwhile all schedule trains had started on time, with many through passengers. The incoming trains were somewhat late, having been detained at Philadelphia. All evening trains were shifted and shunted in the company's yards, the police keeping up their line from the station to Railroad avenue. About nine o'clock some freight cars and way passenger trains were stoned while passing through the heavy cut, two miles from the station. A squad of police went out to the gap, and remained on guard until relieved by militia. Detachments of State troops were brought

from Trenton during the afternoon, and posted at the bridge over the Raritan, at New Brunswick, and the bridge over the Hackensack, between Newark and Jersey City. These important bridges were strongly guarded throughout the period of the disturbance. During the night the shops of the Pennsylvania Railroad in the Hackensack meadows were guarded by fifty men. The next day this guard was relieved by the 5th Veteran Regiment of Newark.

At Newark, New Brunswick and Trenton there was considerable excitement, but no effort was made to bring on a strike. The passenger trains were run as usual, and the freight trains, which were discontinued in consequence of the troubles at Philadelphia and other points on the main line of the road, were resumed as soon as the route beyond Philadelphia was clear. By the night of the 24th, the danger on the Pennsylvania road was over; there had been no strike of the employés, and the mob had found the civil and military forces so strong that they wisely decided not to attempt an outbreak.

On the evening of the 25th, the firemen and brakemen of the Morris & Essex division of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad joined the strike, which, as we have related elsewhere, had already begun on the main line of this road in Pennsylvania. The men were quiet and orderly, and attempted no violence. There was not much life in the strike, and on the 27th the men at the eastern end of the line agreed to resume work at their former wages, trusting to the company to increase their pay as the times improved. This offer was accepted, and the strike came to an end. The trainmen of this road at Phillipsburg,

opposite Easton, Pennsylvania, did not unite in this settlement until some days later.

The next road to join in the strike was the New Jersey Central. The trainmen on this road struck on the 25th, and stopped the running of the freight trains. The principal disturbance was at Phillipsburg, opposite Easton. The New Jersey Central men there united with the employés of the Morris & Essex road, and with them put a stop to the business of both roads.

On both roads the strikers refused to allow the running of passenger trains. They stated that the mails might be carried over the lines in the postal cars, but no other cars should be run. The authorities of both roads thereupon refused to send out any trains until their roads were freed from the interference of the rioters.

Though the strikers restrained from any further violence than the stopping of the trains, and announced their intention of protecting the property of their roads, it was uncertain how long this state of affairs would continue, and was of the highest importance that the railroad blockade should be ended at the earliest practicable moment. Accordingly a strong force of troops, under Brigadier-General Sewell, was sent to Phillipsburg. This force consisted of the 1st, 5th, 6th, and 7th New Jersey Regiments and the Hoboken Battery. The troops reached Phillipsburg on the 28th of July, and at once took possession of the railroad property there. A feeble effort was made to prevent the railroad officials from resuming the running of the trains, but was promptly put down by a small detachment from the 1st Regiment. The presence of the troops, and the determined attitude of the authorities

convinced the strikers that their efforts at resistance to the laws would be in vain. On the night of the 28th the Morris & Essex men ceased their interference with their road, and early the next week returned to work.

The strikers on the eastern end of the New Jersey Central Railroad returned to duty about the 28th of July. They had little sympathy with the outbreak at Phillipsburg. Being thus isolated, and overawed by the military, the strikers at Phillipsburg returned to duty about the 1st of August. The troops were kept on duty for some days longer as a matter of precaution, but no further trouble was experienced in New Jersey.

CHAPTER IX.

THE STRIKE IN OHIO.

Strike on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad at Newark, Ohio—Trains Stopped—Signs of Violence—The Company ask the Protection of the State—Troops Ordered to Newark—They Sympathize with the Rioters—Threats of the Miners—Strike at Columbus—The Mob Stop the Trains—The Rioters in Possession of the City—They Compel the Factories to Stop Work—Alarm in Columbus—Uprising of the Citizens—They Determine to Put Down the Mob—Proclamation of the Governor—Columbus Quiet—Riot at Zanesville—Energetic Action of the Citizens—The Strike at Cleveland—Trains Stopped on the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad—The Blockade at Collinwood—Determination of the Strikers—They Preserve Order—Riot at Toledo—The Strike at Cincinnati—Gathering of the Mob—Rioters Stop Trains on the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad—The City at the Mercy of the Mob—Burning of a Railroad Bridge by the Rioters—The Citizens Resolve to Put Down the Mob—Railroad Men Refuse to be Interfered with—Restoration of Order.

THE excitement spread rapidly westward, and following the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, soon reached the State of Ohio. At Newark, about thirty miles from Columbus, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad crosses the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis, or, as it is more commonly called, the Pan Handle Railroad. Newark is a city of considerable importance, and one of the principal railroad centres of the State.

On the 18th of July the brakemen and firemen of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad at Newark struck work, and refused to allow the freight trains of the road to pass that point. All arriving trains were stopped, the engines uncoupled from the cars, the fires put out, and the engineers and firemen forced to abandon their posts.

The strikers were quiet and orderly at first, the only violence being the throwing of a man from a camel-back engine for attempting to start the fires. The sheriff of Licking county repaired to the depot, and, after reading the Riot Act, ordered the strikers to disperse. They refused to comply with his demand, and he reported the disturbance to the Governor of Ohio, and asked for a military force to enable him to preserve order. Governor Young directed a regiment to repair to Newark to assist the sheriff, and issued a proclamation commanding the strikers to desist from personal intimidation and interference with property. The troops reached Newark during the night of the 21st, and by the next morning were on duty at the railway depot and yards. The militia soon made it evident that they were in sympathy with the railroad strikers, so that it was by no means certain that they could be depended upon in case of emergency.

The men on the Pan Handle road now joined in the strike, that road having become involved at Pittsburgh and at its western end; and during the 22d a large number of them reached Newark from Dennison. The miners from the coal and iron regions near Newark were in active sympathy with the strikers, and assured them of assistance whenever called upon. For the time the strikers attempted no violence at Newark, but contented themselves with blockading the railroads.

A committee was sent by the Newark strikers to Columbus, to induce the railroad men at that point to join in the strike. Meetings of the brakemen and firemen on the Baltimore & Ohio and Pan Handle roads were held on the night of the 22d at Columbus, and

resolutions were adopted demanding a restoration of the old rates of pay. The strikers at once left their work to await the answers of their respective companies. Their demands were refused, and on the morning of the 23d a meeting was held at the Union depot for the purpose of enforcing the strike. A large gang of men gathered about the depot and yards early in the day, but it was observed that but few railroad men were among the crowd. The main body was made up of idlers, curiosity seekers, and a set of roughs and non-railroaders, who seemed to have suddenly come to the front.

From the depot the mob hastened into the city, resolved to force the employés in the private establishments of Columbus to quit work. The rioters numbered between two hundred and three hundred men. The first place visited was a rolling-mill on the banks of the Olentangy. The employés were ordered to cease work. As there was a general disposition among the mill men to join the strikers, they easily obtained a promise that the mill would shut down as soon as the heat on hand was finished, which was done. The mob then went to the Smith Pipe Works, farther north, and commanded an immediate suspension. Some were in favor even of letting the metal in heating out of the cupola. There was a charge of five tons nearly ready to pour out, and had the threat been carried out, the hot metal would have fired the building and destroyed the fine property. Mr. Poland, the superintendent, sensibly told the mob he would shut down as soon as the heat was off. The crowd then left.

The men at the Washoe Fire Clay Works were next visited, and quit work at once. The rabble took pos-

session of the place, put the fires out, and took other unlawful liberties with the premises.

Patton's Pot Works, Adams' Planing Mill, the Franklin Machine Company, Peter Dashoe's factory and the Fuller Buggy Works, were then successively visited and compelled to shut down. The mob said to Mr. Forestone, of the Columbus Buggy Company, "Shut up or burn up." The same expression was used at the Franklin Machine Company's place, where they were asked why they wanted the company to close their shops. The leaders replied, "We are going to have a meeting at Goodale Park, and want you to come and hear what we have to say." The Fuller company received the same threats. Ohlen's saw mill and Hayden's rolling mill were subsequently compelled to shut down. It is scarcely necessary to say that when the manufacturers who have large property at stake are told under such circumstances, they generally shut up. The number of men in the gang increased rapidly till it reached over a thousand.

At noon the men who had quit work marched to the Union depot in a body, and ate dinner from their pails.

After dinner the mob closed the spice mills, and before night every establishment containing an engine, on the west side of the river, had been closed up. Arnold Isler, a local reporter, was with the crowd. Some time before reaching Hayden's rolling mill, some of them took exceptions to the presence of reporters, and Isler was told several times he would be killed if he gave any names. Inside of the mill he was seized again and threatened with bodily harm. Acquaintances interposed, and Isler was released.

John Cain, formerly a convict in the penitentiary, was one of the principal leaders of the mob

The officials of most of the roads voluntarily closed the railway shops for the time, thus depriving the mob of the opportunity of compelling them to close. The through lines declined to receive freight, and freight houses were generally closed up. Brakemen and switchmen declared that they had nothing to do with the raids on the private establishments, and did not approve them; but few railroad men were seen in the mob.

The Mayor of Columbus, on the afternoon of the 23d, issued a proclamation calling on the rioters to disperse and cease their interference with private property.

Several hundred special policemen were sworn in. The railroad authorities decided to make no efforts to run their trains until the strike had been put down by the civil authorities, and thus to give no provocation to the mob.

The promptness with which the citizens enrolled themselves in the special police force, and the determination exhibited by the State and city authorities to put down mob violence at any cost, greatly demoralized the rioters. On the morning of the 24th nearly all the manufacturing establishments that were forcibly closed on the previous day were reopened, the operatives returning to work on being assured of protection. Columbus was excited, but quiet throughout the day.

On the 25th Governor Young issued the following proclamation :

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, COLUMBUS, July 25th.

To the People of Ohio :

Owing to troubles existing between railroad companies and their employés great excitement exists through-

out the State. Of this unfortunate state of affairs lawless and disreputable persons are taking advantage and endangering life and property. The civil authorities, State, county and municipal, as well as military, must and will everywhere exert their power to enforce law in every respect. The good name of our people demands that this shall be done, and in no other way can the order which is absolutely necessary to public and private safety be maintained to avert all danger, and in order to successfully meet all resistance to the thorough execution of law I hereby call on law-abiding men of all our cities, towns and villages to tender their services to their respective civil authorities, and, under their direction and control, organize themselves into a volunteer police force sufficiently strong to overawe the lawless elements. I confidently expect all good men will respond promptly and cheerfully to this call.

THOMAS L. YOUNG, *Governor.*

Every effort was made to place the military force of the State in a condition for service, and the determination of the people of Columbus to allow no more mob violence was too plain to be mistaken by the rioters. No further disturbance occurred, and for some days matters remained unchanged. The failure of the strikes at other points disheartened the strikers, and they made no resistance to the running of the trains on their roads. By the 2d of August both the Baltimore & Ohio and Pan Handle roads had resumed their freight traffic. When it was certain that the strike was dead, the troops were withdrawn from Newark, and the Columbus companies were dismissed.

Other parts of the State were affected by the outbreak. Zanesville, on the line of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, was one of the first to be plunged into

the excitement. The train hands took part in the strike about the time it was begun at Newark; and on the morning of the 23d a mob of about two thousand men assembled in front of a new hotel in process of erection, and ordered the men at work on the building to stop. The demand was at once complied with, and the mob then visited in succession the various manufacturing establishments of the town, and compelled the workmen to abandon their posts, thus forcing over fifty establishments into idleness. The rioters also compelled the street railway company to discontinue the running of their cars. No greater violence was attempted, but the proceedings of the rioters thoroughly alarmed the citizens, and a vigilance committee, composed of about one thousand of the most reliable citizens of Zanesville, was organized and armed. They were placed on duty on the afternoon of the 23d, and at once began the arrest of such rioters as could be secured. Under their protection the street cars resumed their trips about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the mob slunk away. From this time Zanesville was quiet. The strike on the railroad was adjusted in the general settlement between the Baltimore & Ohio Company and its employés, and the mob did not venture again to raise its head.

Cleveland, on Lake Erie, is an important railroad point. The Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Division of the New York Central Railroad passes through it. This road, as we have seen, engaged in the strike at an early period, the troubles along its line beginning at Buffalo. The strike quickly spread to Cleveland. On the morning of the 23d of July the men in the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern shops, to the number of

250 or 300, quit work, held a meeting, and addressed a communication to Superintendent Paine, embodying the following demands :

First—An increase of twenty per cent. on wages received since July 1st, and that such advance date from July 1st.

Second—That assurances be given by the company that no employé shall suffer on account of his participation in the strike.

A committee waited on Mr. Paine with the demand, and were informed that he could give no answer until the matter was laid before President Vanderbilt, and that he would forward it immediately. Before leaving, the committee assured him no property should be destroyed, but that the men were determined that no work should be done in the shops until the demand was acceded to. These men had been receiving from nineteen to twenty-one cents per hour, according to skill, and were running on ten hours time.

The next move was by the hands in the freight depot. of the Lake Shore road to the number of 225. Their demand was that the company should pay them \$1.50 per day for ten hours work and \$2 for the same amount of work on Sunday : that they be paid in proportion for overwork ; that they be paid for time lost by the strike, and that they receive their pay by the 15th of each month. These propositions were also forwarded to New York by the superintendent.

During the afternoon a meeting was held by the shop and freight men for the purpose of concerting action among themselves and with the train men already out at Collinwood. A committee of ten was selected to

confer with the brakemen and firemen and with others who might be on a strike. The meeting was orderly throughout, and when a political speaker of greenback and labor reform tendencies was noticed in the room, the president arose and said that they wanted nothing from the politicians, as the men were perfectly able to attend to their own business.

Collinwood, a short distance from Cleveland, was the point where the Lake Shore trains were held. All was quiet there on the 23d, only an occasional pony engine being allowed to move along the track. The strikers preserved order and obliged others to do so. They compelled all the saloons to close, and permitted none of their men to indulge in liquor. The side tracks were crowded with freight cars and the round house was full of engines. A large number of stock cars had been unloaded, the sheep being driven into the country. The hogs were hauled to the yards near by, where a hundred died from lack of water. Cattle were driven on to Painesville, where the company could care for them.

The men in the machine shops, with the train men of the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis Railroad, went out on strike on the 23d, as they were refused the increase of twenty per cent. which they demanded on Saturday.

At noon the shop men held a meeting at their shops to receive any communication from the company in response to their demand and the establishment of a regular pay-day. None coming they decided to strike, and when leaving were met by President J. H. Devereux, who addressed them. He expressed regret at having been so long delayed at his office, and then ex-

plained that, as president of the company, he owed a mutual obligation to stockholders and employés, and that embarrassment must necessarily arise in adjusting matters so as to fulfil his duties to both. He blamed the difficulty on too much cutting of rates, and said that no one had done more toward a pooling of rates than he. A consultation was then held at which a compromise was made, the men receiving an advance of ten per cent. on and after August 1st, and working ten hours instead of eight hours; they, on their part, agreed to go back to work the next morning. The advance was to be general, benefiting train men also.

An effort was made by the Lake Shore men to induce the employés of the Atlantic & Great Western road to join in the strike, but the latter had the independence to refuse, stating that their relations with their company were satisfactory.

On the 24th the General Superintendent of the Lake Shore Railroad sent the following to the Division Superintendent :

The President desires the employés of this company to remain on or to return to duty in all cases where there is anything to be done, and that all trains necessary to the public convenience be kept running. As soon as the excitement is allayed, conferences will be invited with the employés respecting the rates of wages. Make public this despatch.

CHARLES PAINÉ, *General Superintendent.*

A letter from Collinwood, on the 24th, thus describes the state of affairs there :

Everything presents the appearance of a Sunday in a New England village at Collinwood, the little station

where the Lake Shore round house and shops are located. There are no crowds, no threats—simply the men sitting around in small groups, arrayed in their holiday attire, talking over the situation. The men have been anxious of late to have the remaining cattle cars unloaded, but the yard-master of the Erie division has seemed to be very slow in doing this. They say that it is cruel to let the animals suffer. About five hundred and fifty cattle have already been driven to Painesville, and others will probably follow. A very large number of the animals have died. One car containing 1,500 fowls gives forth an almost intolerable stench. The dead hogs are being carted away to the soap factories, and many of them buried to avoid the plague that must soon follow if the dead animal matter is not removed. Great trouble arises from insufficient means of watering the cattle, and scores of them are constantly dying of thirst. There is, of course, much feeling against some of the officials of the road, the men saying that if the officers had treated them properly they would not have complained of the reduction.

At the first meeting, held at ten A. M., the prospects of their propositions being acceded to were fully discussed. The sum of what was expressed was that President Vanderbilt cannot exercise his power here as he could in a monarchy. This is a republic, and the poor man shall have his rights and his family must be supported. Furthermore, there will be no trouble at Collinwood, no fights or arson if the militia is kept back; but the moment the militia is used in the support of monopoly then the laborer will no longer keep quiet. There is much feeling among the men over the question of passes. One man said: "Suppose I am ordered to run my train down to Cleveland; I get for this sixteen cents; but I must return here to report to my superior, and for that I must pay my fare of twenty-five cents." He felt that this was an unbearable outrage. Another grave complaint lies in the fact

that the men are only paid while in actual service. For instance, if a man runs from Collinwood to Toledo, which would take a little more than a day, he would be paid for that; but he is liable to lie off there for three days without pay, although required to be ready to report for duty at any moment. In this way the small pay earned is entirely absorbed.

Matters continued in this state until the last of July, when the strikes on the other roads having been settled, and it having become plain to the men that they could not carry their point, they ceased their interference with the movements of the road, and signified to the general superintendent their willingness to return to work at the reduced wages. The superintendent agreed to correct some local abuses in regard to extra pay and the granting of passes, and repeated to the Lake Shore men the promise of Mr. Vanderbilt to increase wages when the business of the road should justify such a step. By the 3d of August, business was entirely resumed by the Lake Shore road.

Toledo was also affected by the strike on the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern road. On the 25th of July an effort was made by a disorderly mob to bring on a riot. A private letter from Toledo, published in the *New York Tribune*, thus describes the affair :

Wednesday morning a party of dock-wallopers, as they are called here—loafers, bummers, and skalawags—gathered with the off-scourings of the city into a mob, in the Fifth ward, with a low hotel kept by Baumback, as their head-quarters. The mayor went up there and spoke to them, encouraging them, telling them that they had a right to demand bread, and that they were entitled to have wages for their work, and

full work at good wages. He claims that he meant something different from what he said; but as the result of his speeches they went around the city stopping workmen wherever they found them at work, and threatening to burn out the establishments if they did not shut down. The captain of police wanted to disperse them, but the mayor refused to allow them to be interfered with, as he claims now not knowing how bad their behavior was. They went down Water street, threatening everybody in their course, and especially pouring out threats against the Board of Trade, who they seemed to think were the cause of the present price of flour. The citizens were alarmed, and went to reason with the mayor about his course, and to urge him to take action, but without success. In the afternoon, however, he called a meeting of the citizens, to be held that evening at Market Space—a very unfit place—and said he could reason with the mob and entirely control them. The meeting was held and largely attended by good citizens. The rabble were there in force also. The mayor and the speakers were utterly unable to control the mob, and the meeting finally broke up in disorder. The bad element organized themselves, and started to gut the Board of Trade building. Their leaders, however, seeing the citizens out in force, quailed, and the mob was dispersed before it reached the Board of Trade buildings, so that nothing was done by them except to resolve to meet there on the following morning at eight o'clock to begin the work of demolition.

The citizens meanwhile, under the call of Sheriff Moore, assembled at the Boody House and were organized into companies, Major Swigart, Captain Dowling, Captain White, and E. O. Brown respectively commanding companies. Among those who enlisted were the very best of our citizens, both old and young. The meeting adjourned for the night with the understanding that they were to meet at the court-house on the fol-

lowing morning at eight o'clock. It was ascertained that there were a large number of arms in the city, concealed, which had belonged to the Fenians, having been brought here some six years ago. Sheriff Moore organized a portion of the meeting into a patrol for that night, and the city was patrolled thoroughly. Along about midnight a body of the patrol were taken off to a point near Monroe street, and led into the back yard of a small house where, in a little building, they found a quantity of arms boxed up—breech-loading Springfield muskets. They took the arms and a large supply of cartridges to the court-house and put a guard over them. In the morning, Thursday, about five hundred men assembled in the court-house yard. Arms and cartridges were immediately distributed and the companies formed. Drilling was at once begun, guards thrown out around the place, and the men, after being organized and drilled, were kept in the shade of the court-house trees, the day being intensely hot, ready to answer any call which might be made upon them for assistance.

By this time the mayor seemed to become somewhat aroused, and, at the earnest request of the Police Commissioners and by their authority, had sworn in four hundred extra patrolmen. These measures seem to have overawed the mob, as they made almost no demonstration after this. The police, meanwhile, had been busy arresting the ringleaders, displaying great courage and adroitness in the operation. The mob, learning that some of their leaders were incarcerated, proceeded to the station house, threatening to sack the same and liberate the offenders. Two of them went up to Captain Purdy (Chief of Police), who was at the front door, and demanded the release of the leaders who had been arrested. The captain asked them who they represented. They said they represented the strikers and the mob, and that they were going to have their leaders. He again asked them if they demanded

the release of the men who had been arrested. They said they did. He immediately said: "You are the men I want then," collared them both, and turning quickly, rushed them right backward into the station house, where his men were, and although they did not procure the release of their leaders, they soon had the pleasure of being in cells adjacent to them.

Business all over the city was almost entirely suspended. During the night we were on guard, a revolver company was formed, and about fifty of the company, mounted on horseback, patrolled the city thoroughly, going around to all the outskirts to prevent the formation of a mob outside the city. The special policemen and regular police force patrolled all the inside parts of the city, so that order was most thoroughly preserved. During the day it seemed throughout the town almost like Sunday, everything was so quiet. The Mayor, at the urgent solicitation of the citizens, finally consented to the order of arrest of all persons found on the streets after ten o'clock. One party of specials distinguished themselves greatly by capturing a telegraph operator who was on his way home after work. He mistook them for the mob, and made a rapid retreat, but they overtook him and captured him, much to the amusement of the others. Business has to-day begun as usual, the excitement all having subsided.

There was considerable excitement also at Cincinnati. On the 23d of July the trainmen on the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad joined in the strike, and prevented the passage of trains. The employés of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad having been informed that their wages would be reduced ten per cent. on the 23d, protested against the proposed reduction, and announced their intention to strike if it should be enforced. The authorities of this road thereupon reconsidered

their decision, and the wages remained unchanged. This determination was announced to the men on the night of the 22d, and consequently they took no part in the strike.

Cincinnati was greatly aroused. Mass-meetings were held in the market places on the afternoon of the 22d, and were generally attended by men who had no interest in the railroads entering Cincinnati. They were addressed by speakers of the communist stamp, and the excitement was fanned to a high pitch. Cincinnati contains a large population of idle and vicious persons, who are always ready to join in an outbreak. A large part of the militia force of the city had been sent to Newark to hold the rioters there in check, and the preservation of order depended mainly upon the police and the better class of citizens.

The morning of the 23d of July found Cincinnati in a feverish and dangerous state. The rioters, who comprised the worst elements of the place, had taken courage from the fact that they had not been interfered with, and had increased so rapidly that they now comprised a large and formidable force. By the afternoon they had become threatening, and had completely wrested the strike from the hands of the railroad men. Early in the afternoon a crowd of perhaps fifteen hundred, composed mostly of boys from thirteen to twenty-one years of age, and backed up by sullen, vicious-looking men, with their hands behind their backs, surrounded the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot. As the half-past two train was about to leave, a boy of not more than eighteen sprang upon the engine, which had not yet been coupled to the train, and pulled the throttle. The engineer, who was near by, jumped on the

engine in time to save it from destruction. The crowd then demanded that he should come down, but he stood by his post until an order came from President Shoemaker to run the engine into the round house and abandon all trains for the day. The mob, headed by two or three villainous-looking men, then started for the machine and repair shops of the company to force the employés to quit work. At the rail shop they were met by an officer of the road, who asked them if they were railroad men or strikers. They answered, "No," but they wanted those shops closed up. The workmen at last yielded, against their will, and left the shop. The crowd then went through the yard, taking each shop in succession, and compelling the men to quit work. This was the nature of the strike on the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton road. The company's employés declared that if they had been permitted they would themselves have driven back the mob and started the trains.

A letter from Cincinnati said :

Loud condemnation is heard on all hands of the inactivity of the police, who have, so far, stood by and watched the progress of the rioters without lifting a hand. The entire militia force of the city is two hundred miles away, and it is beginning to be felt that the only protection of life and property is to be found in vigilance committees and individual efforts by citizens. The demand for muskets and revolvers has been so great as to completely exhaust the stock of the gun stores. It is noticed that these arms are bought by the respectable part of the community. Bankers are beginning to fear raids upon their vaults, and anxiety is felt by the officials of the United States sub-treasury, where several millions in currency are locked up in old safes.

Threats have been made by the communists that they will burn the great manufacturing establishments of Mitchell & Remmelsberg, Crane, Breed & Co., and others, and no one would be surprised if they were carried into execution. There are men in this city who were engaged in the pillage and arson at Pittsburgh, and they do not hesitate to say that they came here on the same mission. This afternoon Mayor Moore made an imbecile speech to the thieves and rascallions at the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot, entreating them not to burn and destroy. "What good would it do you," he asked, "to set fire to buildings?" "It would show that we are men," answered a voice in the crowd.

The early evening trains on the Indianapolis, Cincinnati & Lafayette road were stopped by uncoupling cars as fast as the engineers attempted to pull them out. Thousands of men doing business in the city and living in the distant suburbs have no means of getting home to their families to-night. If the present condition of affairs continues, the old stage-coach will be brought into requisition for transporting mails and passengers. Business is almost entirely suspended, it being impossible to move goods in any direction.

At nightfall on the 23d Cincinnati was almost at the mercy of the mob. During the night a party of thieves and tramps, having no connection with the railroad strike, set fire to the bridge of the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad over Mill Creek. The alarm was quickly given, and the fire was put out. The rioters who had been engaged in the effort to burn the bridge then withdrew to a point on the river sufficiently remote to secure them from the interference of the police, and passed the night there. At early dawn on the 24th they seized all the milk and market wagons coming into the city by that road, and gutted them.

The danger which threatened Cincinnati on the morning of the 24th was very great, and aroused the authorities to the necessity of taking more vigorous action than they had yet thought necessary. The officers of the various railroads running from Cincinnati, with the exception of the Ohio & Mississippi road, which was still engaged in the strike, determined to run their trains in spite of the mob, and accordingly armed their employés with revolvers and coupling pins. A number of these armed employés were placed on each train, and whenever a gang of roughs undertook to interfere with the running of the trains, they were met by the determined employés, who informed them that they could not succeed in their objects without fighting. The rioters did not choose to fight, and the trains were unmolested. The men of the Ohio & Mississippi road refused to join the rioters in plundering, and by this refusal greatly disheartened the mob. A meeting of the police commissioners was held in the morning, and a call was made upon the citizens to volunteer as special policemen. Large numbers of citizens responded to the call, and on every side a stern determination was manifested to make short work of the mob should the necessity for a conflict arise. The rioters were overawed by this determination on the part of the citizens, and gradually slunk away. By the night of the 24th the danger in Cincinnati was practically over. The city continued in a feverish state for several days longer, but no further trouble was experienced. A number of arrests of rioters were made by the police, and the mob was shown that the sternest measures would be used against it. The excitement gradually subsided, and Cincinnati relapsed into its old, steady ways.

CHAPTER X.

THE STRIKE IN INDIANA.

The Strike at Fort Wayne—The Men of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad stop the Freight Trains—The Strike Spreads—The Railroad Shops Closed—The Leaders of the Strike Counsel Moderation—Measures of the City Government—Workmen join the Strike—The Strikers Guard the Railroad Property, and Prevent the Formation of a Mob—Their General Good Conduct—They Determine to Seize the Fort Wayne Railroad—Vigilance of the Authorities—Failure of the Strike on the Wabash Road—The Strikers Discouraged—The Fort Wayne Men Surrender to the Company—The Strike on the Ohio & Mississippi Road—Matters at Terre Haute—The Strike at Indianapolis—Trains Stopped—Proclamation of the Mayor—Arming of the Citizens—Proclamation of the Governor—Collapse of the Strike.

THE strike on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago road, which, as we have seen, began at Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, rapidly extended westward. At eight o'clock, on the night of the 21st of July, the trainmen of this company at Fort Wayne joined the strike. The freight train, which should have left Fort Wayne for Chicago at eight o'clock, was made up, but the brakemen and firemen refused to go on duty. The engineer and conductor declined to take the train out without any crew, and the officials were unable to obtain substitutes for the strikers. Every employé of the company peremptorily refused to take their places. In a very short time a crowd of several hundred men had gathered at the railway station and proceeded at once to spike the switches. Squads were detailed to guard the main and side tracks extending through the city, to prevent the passage of trains. News of the

strike spread rapidly, and soon the crowd swelled to several thousand. The employés of the Wabash and other railways appeared in force, and encouraged the strikers to persist, offering to render any assistance required. The excitement was quickly at fever heat, and the officials announced to the strikers their determination to run trains out at all hazards, and the men declared that no train should be moved from the city by any power less formidable than the United States troops, until the order making the ten per cent. reduction in wages was rescinded. Some of the general officers of the road attempted to turn the switches, but were driven away without accomplishing anything. They got on an engine and made repeated efforts to take the train out of the yards, but were forced to desist. One engine wiper, who volunteered to serve as fireman, was taken off the engine by the strikers and subjected to rough usage. Master mechanic, superintendents and masters of transportation were also compelled to dismount from the locomotive. The police made several ineffectual efforts to scatter the mob, and at two o'clock, on the morning of the 22d, Mayor Zollinger read a proclamation ordering the crowd to disperse and refrain from disorderly conduct and obstruction of traffic. He was hissed down. The proclamation was printed and circulated among the strikers, who paid no attention to it.

A letter from Fort Wayne, on the 22d, says :

Passenger trains are moving as usual. Strikers disabled freight trains by pulling out all the coupling-pins and carrying them off. The railroad yard is now crowded with freight cars, many of them loaded with perishable freight, fruit, butter, eggs, etc. The com-

pany will try to-morrow to break the strike; but the men are defiant, and a riot is imminent. A freight train was abandoned eight miles west of the city this afternoon. The engine came to the city alone, and the fireman dismounted and joined the strikers. The excitement is very great. Rumors are current that the strike will take place on the Wabash Railway tomorrow, also that trackmen and switchmen along the entire line of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago road will stop work. The railway officials and public authorities pronounce the present situation exceedingly precarious, and all admit that the strikers have the upper hand; they are fortified to a surprising extent by popular sympathy. Governor Williams has been called upon for a military force, but has not yet replied.

The strikers have just received a telegram from the Central Committee at Allegheny, stating that railway officials have made overtures for adjustment, and have agreed not to attempt to move freight trains for the present. The committee, therefore, recommend the strikers to abstain from all depredations pending the proposed settlement. The strikers, upon receipt of this despatch, called a secret meeting and notified Superintendent Gorham that they would remain quiet so long as he makes no attempt to move freight trains. The strikers are still in session. It is therefore believed that there will be no trouble to-night.

On the morning of the 23d of July the aspect of affairs at Fort Wayne was very threatening. About eight o'clock a large force of strikers visited the extensive shops of Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railway, where 1,000 men are employed, and insisted that they should be closed up. The men said they would not stop work until they received orders from the officials, but they were threatened with force and suc-

cumbered. The shops were at once closed up, and the fires put out. Committees then went east and west on hand cars, and induced the section and trackmen for a considerable distance to stop work. These men came to the city in the afternoon, and added a very ugly element to the crowd already assembled. A rumor prevailed that all the railroad shops and manufactories in the city would be compelled to shut down, but they ran all day as usual without interference.

In the afternoon the strikers held a large meeting, and made exorbitant demands of the railroad officials, stating that they would not resume work until the force was replaced as it existed prior to June 1st, both as to number and rate of wages, and insisting upon the abandonment of all classifications in the rank and pay of engineers. They also adopted an address to the strikers, which was printed and circulated, and had a good effect.

The address is as follows:

STRIKERS—News from Pittsburgh and other railroad points of terrible sacrifices of life and property is something that should be justly considered by you all. The latest despatches show that a very small percentage of strikers are taking an active part in the great and terrible destruction of the company's property, but that it is mostly done by outsiders, who, by such acts, believe themselves practically expressing the wishes of the strikers. Your friends and co-laborers hereby desire to express the earnest hope, and will give their assistance, that you will, should any such thing occur here, endeavor, by every means in your power, to protect the property of the company in this city. You are perfectly able to bring about a compromise without violence, or suffer others to destroy the property of the

company. To destroy property will positively not remedy the matter, but, on the contrary, cause a slow restoration of better times. Do your work justly, honorably, quietly and thoughtfully, and allow no disinterested persons to meddle with the property you helped to create, and which stand as everlasting monuments to your skill, perseverance and energy. Do as you would be done by, and do not act in too great haste. If the company has been unjust in its demands upon you, settle it as peaceably as you can without allowing the destruction of railroad institutions, that—to a very great extent—constitute the future prosperity, life, comfort and pride of our city.

The City Council met in special session during the afternoon, and issued a call to the strikers to disperse. An extra police force of 200 men was ordered to be sworn in at once, which was done, and the Mayor was directed to close all the drinking saloons of the city. The strikers remained firm. They took possession of the depots, yards and shops of the company, and prevented the passage of all freight trains. At the same time they made arrangements to guard the company's property from injury or destruction.

On the morning of the 24th the strike extended to the industrial establishments of Fort Wayne. The employés of Olds & Co., numbering nearly 400, stopped work, and compelled the shops to shut down. They held a meeting in the afternoon, demanded an increase of ten per cent. in their wages, and declared their intention not to allow the shops to resume work until their demand was complied with.

Up to this time the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad was the only road entering Fort Wayne which was affected by the strike. On the 24th, how-

ever, the train men on the Wabash and the Grand Rapids & Indiana Railroads demanded an increase of ten per cent. in their wages, and notified the officers of their respective roads that they would strike if their demands were not complied with.

During the night of the 24th, Fort Wayne was guarded by large bodies of armed men, who were kept on duty to protect the railway shops, rolling stock and private manufactories. The strikers furnished guards wherever desired, and rendered all the protection to property which was necessary. At a late hour two gangs of drunken tramps, numbering from fifty to a hundred each, gathered at the stock yards and railway bridge across the St. Mary's river and made vicious demonstrations and ugly threats. The strikers, upon being apprised of this, sent squads of men on hand cars to disperse the mob, which they did most effectually, driving all of the tramps some distance beyond the city limits. The men were kept going on the hand cars all night to prevent the gathering of any more such assemblages. During the evening a large mob of section and track men from the Western division of the road, many of them under the influence of liquor, seized a number of hand cars and entered Columbia City, where the Pittsburgh & Fort Wayne Company is building a new depot, and compelled the men employed therein to stop work. These hands drank freely and soon became very riotous. They started for this city on hand cars, making threats of violence and incendiarism.

A force of strikers, learning of the threatened invasion, took an engine and coach and went out and met the mob. The strikers were well armed, and they compelled the drunken rabble to turn back and abandon

their intended invasion of Fort Wayne. The strikers in this as in other instances were uniformly on the side of good order, and saved the city from serious dangers which menaced it. Passenger trains were still running on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railway and were not molested.

On the night of the 24th the strikers notified all of their number who desired to come from Crestline to Fort Wayne to get on the passenger trains, and if the conductors insisted upon collecting fare they were instructed to take possession of the train and run it to suit themselves. Their fare was remitted, however, by the conductors, and all difficulty was thus avoided.

As has been stated elsewhere, the officers of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad made no attempt to move the trains of their road. They appealed to the Governors of the States through which their line ran for protection, and ordered the discontinuance of all trains. The strikers thereupon took possession of the road, and those at Allegheny City and Fort Wayne, acting in concert, ran the passenger trains with considerable regularity.

On the night of the 25th a secret meeting of the strikers was held at Fort Wayne, which, among other things, determined to take formal possession of the road, and run it to suit themselves. The strikers selected three of their own number to fill the positions held by Superintendent Gorham, Master Mechanic Boon and Master of Transportation Clark. These officials soon learned that it was the intention of the strikers to take possession of their offices and control the telegraph wires, and determined to hold their offices against any attempt to oust them. They obtained from

the city authorities a strong guard of police for their offices, and made their preparations for resistance. The strikers, upon hearing of these preparations, wisely decided not to attempt the seizure of the offices, which would bring them in conflict with the civil authorities. They had practical possession of the road, and the seizure of the offices mentioned would have given them no real advantage.

On the morning of the 26th a committee of the Pittsburgh & Fort Wayne strikers left for Pittsburgh to confer with the railroad officers, having received an invitation to do so. They were joined at Crestline, Alliance and other stations by committees from those points bound on a similar errand.

On the same day a committee of twenty-two train men of the Wabash Railroad, which had been sent to Toledo to confer with the officers of that road, returned to Fort Wayne. A meeting of the Wabash employés was at once called, and the committee stated the results of their conference. They reported a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Hopkins, the President of the road, who had agreed to redress their real grievances and to advance their pay whenever the business of the company would admit. The meeting was very stormy, one element desiring to go to extremes. Better counsels finally prevailed, and at noon the meeting adjourned, having decided to abandon the strike if the employés at other portions of the line would do the same. A committee was appointed to go to Lafayette and Logansport to urge the cessation of the strike, but this was not necessary, as the men at those places telegraphed that they had decided to resume work as soon as the company desired them to do so. Manager Hopkins was

accordingly notified of this determination, and replied, congratulating the men and stating that the freight trains would begin moving as soon as those on the connecting lines did so.

The collapse of the strike on the Wabash Railroad caused a perceptible discouragement of the Pittsburgh & Fort Wayne strikers, and they were from this time somewhat less defiant than before, though they declared themselves confident of bringing the company to their terms. The sentiment of the people, who were put to great inconvenience by the embargo on freight traffic and travel, was turning steadily against the strikers. On the night of the 26th the citizens of Fort Wayne held a meeting, and pledged their support to the authorities in their efforts to put down the strike and place the railroad company in possession of their property.

The committee appointed by the Fort Wayne strikers proceeded to Pittsburgh, and had an interview with the officials of the road. The result was a refusal by the company to grant the demands of the strikers, and a resolve on the part of the strikers to continue their movement.

On the afternoon of the 29th an effort was made by the officers of the road to start a train from Fort Wayne. An engine was run from the round house into the yard, but the strikers gathered en masse, and took the engine back, having forced the engineer and firemen from their posts. The city authorities now demanded that the strikers should cease their interference with the railroad, but met with a stubborn refusal. Not being strong enough to enforce the law, a call was made upon the Governor of Indiana for troops.

As has been related, the strike on the Fort Wayne road at Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, ended upon the arrival of Governor Hartranft at Pittsburgh with troops. Seeing that they were powerless to resist the force brought by the Governor, the Allegheny strikers surrendered to the company and ceased their interference with the railroad. This surrender greatly disheartened the strikers at Fort Wayne and at other points on the road. Towards the last of July many of the men began to withdraw from the strike, which they now saw was hopeless, and these desertions still further disheartened their comrades.

On the 2d of August Sheriff Munson notified the men that troops were on their way to Fort Wayne, and that the blockade of the railroad would be raised the next day regardless of consequences. He advised them not to provoke a conflict in which their defeat was certain. A meeting of the strikers was then held, and the men decided that they would return to work, provided that Superintendent Gorham would promise that no man should be removed for taking part in the strike, and that he would use his personal influence with the Board of Directors to have all the grievances of the strikers redressed. Mr. Gorham readily gave these pledges, and the men thereupon abandoned the strike and reported for duty. From this time there was no further trouble on the Fort Wayne road.

Other points of Indiana were also much excited by the strike. The Ohio & Mississippi Railroad runs across the southern part of Indiana. The strike extended rapidly along this road from Cincinnati towards St. Louis. On the 22d of July freight trains were stopped at Vincennes on this road, but passenger trains

were not interfered with. No violence was resorted to by the men on this line, and after holding out for several days, the strikers, disheartened by the failure of the movement in other parts of the country, surrendered to the company, and returned to duty.

On the 23d the train men and shop men of the Vandalia Railroad struck at Terre Haute and other points along the road. The machine-shops at Terre Haute, employing about six hundred men, were closed. The strikers were quiet and orderly, and passed resolutions declaring that they would abstain from drinking intoxicating liquors during the strike.

One of the principal centres of excitement was Indianapolis, the capital of the State. The strike began there on the 22d, and embraced all the lines entering the city. The freight trains were stopped, and on some of the roads only the mail and express cars were allowed to be taken over the line. The Indianapolis and St. Louis men stopped work on the 23d, and compelled all freight trains along the entire route to lie over.

On the 24th of July the Mayor of Indianapolis issued the following proclamation :

INDIANAPOLIS, July 24th, 1877.

THE LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS OF INDIANAPOLIS—You are requested to meet in mass in front of the new court house this evening at half-past seven o'clock, to consult as to measures for public safety. Let your numbers be so large and the addresses of such a character that it will be demonstrated that the people of this city are largely on the side of law and order. Measures for organization for the protection of life and property will also be adopted.

I. CAVEN, Mayor.

The meeting was held at the appointed time, and a committee of safety was organized. One of the members of this committee, ex-Mayor Daniel Macaulay, was commissioned brigadier-general by the governor, and was authorized to raise a force of citizen soldiery for the enforcement of the laws.

On the 26th of July the Governor of Indiana issued the following proclamation :

THE STATE OF INDIANA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT. }

A Proclamation by the Governor, relative to certain disturbances of the peace by striking employés of the railroad companies, to the people of Indiana:

Many disaffected employés of the railroad companies doing business in this State have renounced their employments because of alleged grievances and have conspired to enforce their demands by detaining trains of their late employers, seizing and controlling their property, intimidating their managers, prohibiting by violence their attempts to conduct their business, and driving away passengers and freight offered for transportation. The peace of the community is seriously disturbed. By these lawless acts every class of society is made to suffer. The comfort and happiness of many families not parties to the grievances are sacrificed. A controversy which belongs to our courts or to the province of peaceful arbitration or negotiation is made the excuse for an obstruction of trade and travel over the chartered highways within our State; the commerce of the entire country is interfered with, and the reputation of our community threatened with dishonor among our neighbors. This disregard of law and the rights and privileges of our citizens and of those of sister States cannot be tolerated. The machinery provided by law for the adjustment of private grievances must be used as the only resort against debtors, individual

or corporate. The process of the courts is deemed sufficient for the enforcement of civil remedies, as well as the penalties of the criminal code, and must be executed equally in each case.

To the end that the existing combination be dissolved and destroyed in its lawless form I invoke the aid of all law-abiding citizens of our State. I ask that they denounce and condemn this infraction of public order and endeavor to dissuade these offenders against the peace and dignity of our State from further acts of lawlessness.

To the judiciary I appeal for the prompt and rigid administration of justice in proceedings of this nature.

To the sheriffs of the several counties I commend a careful study of the duties imposed upon them by the statute which they have sworn to discharge. I admonish each to use the full power of his county in the preservation of order and the suppression of breaches of the peace, assuring them of my hearty co-operation, with the power of the State at my command, when satisfied that occasion requires its exercise.

To those who have arrayed themselves against government and are subverting law and order and the best interests of society, by the waste and destruction of property, the derangement of trains and the ruin of all classes of labor, I appeal for an immediate abandonment of their unwise and unlawful confederation. I convey to them the voice of the law, which they cannot afford to disregard. I trust that its admonition may be so promptly heeded that a resort to extreme measures will be unnecessary, and that the authority of the law and the dignity of the State, against which they have so grievously offended, may be restored and duly respected hereafter.

Given at Indianapolis, this 26th day of July, 1877.

Witness the seal of the State and the signature of
the Governor.

By the Governor, JAMES D. WILLIAMS.
JOHN E. NEFF, *Secretary of State.*

The Indiana Central, Lafayette & Illinois, and Bloomington & Western Railroads were being operated at the time of the strike by receivers appointed by the United States Circuit Court. Judge Gresham ordered the United States Marshal to protect these roads against the interference of the strikers, and it was announced that the force of United States troops quartered in Indianapolis would be used, if necessary, to enforce the orders of the court.

The necessity for employing force never arose, however. The failure of the strikes in other parts of the country, and the manifest determination of the citizens to uphold the authorities in their repressive measures, disheartened the strikers. Throughout the whole movement the strikers refrained from violence, and so avoided a conflict with the civil authorities. After holding out for a few days they began to show signs of weakness, and gradually surrendered to their respective companies. By the 1st of August, the trouble was over, and Indiana was at peace again. The roads had resumed their business, and no further interruption with them was experienced.

CHAPTER XI.

THE STRIKE IN ILLINOIS—THE CHICAGO RIOTS.

Danger to Chicago from its Communist Population—Announcements of the Communists—Fears of the City Authorities—Meetings of the Railroad Men—The Authorities Prepare for Trouble—The Grand Army of Starvation—The Strike Begun at Chicago—Action of the Strikers—Gathering of the Mob—The Rioters Close the Shops and Factories—The Military Called Upon—Proclamations of the Mayor—The Governor's Proclamation—Encounters between the Police and the Rioters—Mass-Meeting of Citizens—Measures for Defence—Night Combats between the Police and the Mob—Arrival of the Regular Troops—They Halt at Chicago—A Regular's View of the Situation—The Governor of Illinois Calls on the President for Aid—The Regulars at Chicago Ordered to Assist the State Officials—The Meeting at Turner Hall—The Police Disperse the Mob—Fights at the Halstead Street Viaduct—Gallant Stand of the Police—Reinforcements Arrive—Charge of the Cavalry—Flight of the Mob—The Regulars Ordered Out—The Mob Overawed—The Disturbances Die Out—Chicago at Peace—The Strike in Other Parts of Illinois—Proclamation of the Governor.

CHICAGO was quickly affected by the strike. The city contains a large and well-organized party of socialists or communists, who on several occasions had manifested an unruly disposition and a determination to bring on a riot whenever a favorable opportunity should occur. For some weeks previous to the railroad strike these men had been preparing for a public meeting, after which they intended to march in procession to the City Hall and demand of the Common Council the collection of the back taxes due the city, and the employment of all the unoccupied laborers by the municipal authorities. The certainty of the railroad strike reaching Chicago gave the communists great encouragement. Meetings were held in various parts of the city,

on the 22d of July, and were roused to fever heat by the news of the terrible outbreak at Pittsburgh. The communists seemed to scent, in the general uneasiness which prevailed, their opportunity for plunging the beautiful Lake City into anarchy and ruin. The workingmen's party, a communist organization, issued the following addresses to the workingmen of the United States :

To all Sections of the Workingmen's Party of the United States :

COMRADES :—In the desperate struggle for existence now being maintained by the workingmen of the great railroads throughout the land, we expect that every member will render all possible moral and substantial assistance to our brethren, and support all reasonable measures which may be found necessary by them.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PHILIP VAN PATTEN, *Corresponding Secretary.*

CHICAGO, July 22d, 1877.

To all Labor Organizations, and Workingmen in General :

COMRADES :—We call your attention to the following questions, believing that the measures suggested will, if adopted, solve the difficulty now pending on all the great railroad lines of the land :

First. Proper steps should be taken by the national government to enable it to take possession of and operate all the railroads and telegraph lines in the country, as is now done in all the more advanced countries of Europe, thus destroying the present and most powerful monopoly of modern times.

Second. The establishment in every State, and by the national government, of an eight hour work day—thus employing all the idle workmen wherever increas-

ing numbers, constantly added to by the rigid introduction of labor-saving machinery, is a constant menace to all those fortunate enough to have employment, and must invariably reduce wages to a rate consistent with the standard of living. The most ignorant and uneducated workers whose labor can be utilized.

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the Workingmen's Party of the United States.

VAN PATTEN, *Corresponding Secretary.*

It was hoped by the communist leaders that these documents would bring them large reinforcements from the genuine working classes.

Throughout the 22d of July great uneasiness and anxiety prevailed among the citizens of Chicago. All were apprehensive of the effect of the excitement upon the poorer classes of the city, many of whom were sympathizers with the communists. Mayor Heath remarked to the correspondent of the New York *Herald* that he did not fear the Irish or Germans, but the large class of half-savage Bohemians who inhabit the lumber district of the city, along the south branch of the river. These men work for fifty cents a day, are thoroughly imbued with communistic ideas, and are ripe for anything.

Meetings were held during the day by Michigan Southern, Rock Island, Chicago & Northwestern, and Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad men, but their proceedings were kept secret. "No one knows what took place," says a letter from Chicago, "but from expressions gleaned among the men to-day, it seems that they passed resolutions of sympathy for their striking brethren East. One thing has been apparent all day. Where the men were silent yesterday, they freely discuss the

practicability of a strike to-day. The men say that the roads must accede to the demands of the workmen. Railroad men of all classes are exceedingly uneasy, and although they will say little, they are evidently deeply absorbed in contemplating the progress of the revolutionary movement westward. Along the tracks of the several lines converging in this city little knots of firemen, engineers, brakemen and trackmen may be seen engaged in earnest conversation, but when approached by reporters, they manifest a strong disinclination to converse on the subject with outsiders, and answer all questions with ominous looks or a dubious shake of the head. Orders have been given this afternoon to suspend all freight trains on the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago road, and the managers will not attempt to run any freights out of Chicago until the excitement subsides."

The excitement continued during the 23d. The streets were thronged with people hurrying from point to point in search of news, and spreading the most alarming rumors. The railroad men appeared to be the most quiet class. The citizens had little fear of them, their dread, as on the previous day, being excited by the communists.

The city authorities, in the meantime, were quietly but rapidly preparing to deal with the mob. It was decided, if a conflict did come, to put down the outbreak at once and with vigor. Muskets were sent to the various station-houses for the use of the police, and three pieces of cannon were placed in charge of an artillery company organized for the purpose. The militia regiments of the city were ordered under arms by the Governor, and were directed to assist the municipal authorities whenever called upon.

On the night of the 23d, a mass-meeting of the "Grand Army of Starvation," as they styled themselves, was held in Market street. Ten thousand persons were present. At eight o'clock the crowd began to gather, and a little later the torchlight processions from the various divisions of the city arrived, amid the deafening cheers of the crowd. Stands were at once improvised and speakers supplied in quick succession. Six men addressed the crowd at once in English and German, and in the most inflammatory language. The speakers openly appealed to the multitude to rise and follow the example of their brethren in the East. Said one of the men :

"We, laboring men, have common cause with the railroad strikers at Pittsburgh, and we must rise up in our might, and fight for our rights. Better a thousand of us be shot down in the streets than ten thousand die of starvation."

The meeting broke up at half-past eleven, after resolving to meet at the same place the next morning at ten o'clock, to sign the platform of the Laborers' League. They left without disorder, carrying their banners bearing such inscriptions as "We Want Work, Not Charity;" "Life by Work, or Death by Fight."

It was evident, on the night of the 23d, that the dissatisfaction of the railroad men was approaching a crisis. On the morning of the 24th of July, it culminated in a general open strike of the railroad hands. Early in the morning the employés of the Michigan Central Railroad sent a committee to the officers of that road and demanded the restoration of their former wages. The general superintendent refused to accede to their demand, and the committee withdrew. The

employés of the road at once stopped work and joined the strike. The company made no effort to send out any trains during the day, and consequently there was no disturbance.

At nine o'clock the freight men on the Illinois Central who work in and around the yards quietly stopped work. They were the switchmen and helpers who make up the trains, numbering about twenty-five; the laborers who handle freight in the freight houses, numbering about one hundred, and the men who pick, assort and store the freight in the cars, numbering about forty. They were incited to strike by a delegation from the Michigan Central, and by the general feeling of dissatisfaction at the reduction of pay which pervaded every class of railroad employés. The strike was orderly, and the men exhibited no ill disposition, save in exceptional cases.

The first action taken by the freight men was the informal appointment, by general consent, of a delegation of four from the switchmen and train-makers to call upon Joseph Tucker, master of transportation, and ascertain whether the wages could not be restored. They found Mr. Tucker in his office. He received them pleasantly, and talked to them fairly and squarely. The men acted reasonably and like men. Besides these, there was present Mr. Thomas Tustin, the local freight agent. The men said that they represented only the switchmen. On July 1st a special reduction, not extending to other employés, had been made in their pay, and they felt that injustice had been done in making them specially subject to a decrease in salary. They had been called upon to join in the general strike, and they now wanted to know whether,

before doing so, a restoration might not be promised. If not, they would have no reason to give the other strikers for not joining them, and so would be forced into the revolt. The delegation claimed that these reductions had been made only on the men they represented, and this they considered unfair. Mr. Tucker explained that it was a mistaken idea that unequal reduction had been made by skipping certain departments, leaving them undisturbed. Of course, if the men wished to strike he could not prevent it, and, though he deplored such action and hoped they would try to prevent it, and preserve the harmony which had always existed, yet, if they did stop work, he would shut up the freight houses at once. The committee left dissatisfied, however, and went out and reported to the men, who started immediately to go to the Michigan Southern yards to consult with the men there. The result was the visit of another delegation to the officials, which was more unsatisfactory than the first.

The crowd, composed of some 500 Michigan Central and Illinois Central men, then started in procession to visit the other yards and enforce a strike. They proceeded first to the Baltimore & Ohio, where the men fell in readily and without much persuasion. The crowd of howling men and boys then marched to the Rock Island yard, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, where they took the men off their engines and told them they must quit. The mob shut the water off the tanks, and when everything was fixed to suit them they started for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. Here the men did not offer the most feeble resistance, but left their engines and switches at the word of command from the mob. The agent of the

Rock Island freight house shut the doors at their approach, but was soon compelled to open them again. The crowd visited the Chicago & Alton freight depot, but were met by the men of that road who had quit the company, having stopped the traffic, both passenger and freight. The crowd scattered then into small parties, one of which (numbering about five hundred) marched north to Van Buren, across the bridge to Market street, stopping at the stoneyard of J. E. Bush, where there were about thirty-five men at work. They tried to persuade the men to join them, but they refused, saying that they were satisfied; that Mr. Bush was paying them all he could afford—\$2 per day. Some loud talk was indulged in, but the stone men were firm; so the crowd left, dwindling away as they straggled along.

About nine o'clock this morning a party of boys and men marched along Twenty-second street, through the lumber yards and the vicinity of the planing mills. They carried a banner inscribed, "Justice and Liberty—Grand Mass-Meeting This Evening." They went to the sash, door and blind factory of Palmer, Fuller & Co., and asked to be allowed to go through the shop and talk with the workmen. This request was refused, whereupon some threats were made by different members of the striking party. Finally the proprietors told them they would stop work at once and let them talk with their workmen outside. At half-past nine work was stopped. The Chicago Planing Mill Company also stopped work. Dufour Brothers & Rowe's planing mill closed at noon. The Union Planing Mill Company, Goss, Phillips & Co., and G. W. Pinckney & Co. were not visited by the strikers, though they passed



DEPOT OF THE UNION PACIFIC R. R., OMAHA.

along the street by them. A portion of the crowd that gathered first at the switch yards marched west on Sixteenth street to Blue Island avenue, up the latter to Halstead, and then marched back and forth in that vicinity for hours, demanding the men should quit work.

These men and boys were not the aggrieved railroad men ; they were mere roughs, loafers and dead beats. They made their first onset upon Wilson's packing house at that point. The laborers inside did not want to stop ; they were getting on an average \$1.60 a day, but Mr. Wilson, seeing that the mob were determined to have their own way or cause destruction of property, told the men to stop. When they assembled on the outside of the house he made them a speech, declaring that he would never ask a man to work for less than \$1.50. The men cheered him heartily, and said that they would see that no harm was done him ; that they would come back as soon as they could.

From Wilson's the crowd went north on the canal, stopping every kind of work.

Among the larger works which the mob stopped were the Excelsior Iron Works, National Boiler Works, Greenebaum's Iron and Nail Works, C. G. Dixon's Wood Moulding Company, and the Chicago Die and Machine Works. There were some gun stores near Crane Brothers', into which some of the roughs entered, but were disappointed on finding that the means of killing had been removed.

These outrages of the mob warned the authorities to be on the alert, and every effort was made to prepare for any emergency. The First and Second Volunteer Regiments and the Ellsworth Zouaves were held in readiness at their armories ; the Grand Army of the

Republic prepared to turn out with full ranks whenever called upon; and a large number of special policemen were sworn in and armed. The Mayor issued the following proclamation:

To the Citizens of Chicago:

Whereas, The railroad troubles and strikes which have taken place in several of the large cities in the country have, in most cases, been attended with incendiarism and plunder; and, whereas, some of the employés of a few of the railroads in this city have struck for an advance of wages, and have been joined by the operatives in some of our factories; and, whereas, it is feared that the bad and vicious element in this community will seize this as a favorable opportunity to destroy property and commit plunder; therefore,

I, by the authority vested in me as Mayor of the city of Chicago, call on all good citizens to aid in enforcing the laws and ordinances, and in suppressing riot and other disorderly conduct. To this end I request that the citizens organize patrols in their respective neighborhoods, and keep their women and children off the public highways.

Proud of the deserved reputation of all classes of our people as law-abiding citizens, I trust and believe no act will be suffered or permitted by any of them now which would disgrace us in our own estimation and that of the country at large. The workingmen must remember that all industries are suffering from financial depression throughout the country, and that acts of violence, instead of tending to rectify their wrongs, will tend to deprive them of all sympathy. The city government has made ample preparation to protect the lives and property of all citizens, and any lawless acts will be promptly detected and punished.

M. HEATH, *Mayor.*

This was followed by a second, closing the liquor saloons of the city. It was as follows:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL, July 24th, 1877.

In the name of the City of Chicago—A Proclamation:

Whereas, The public mind is unduly excited owing to rumors of strikes, and the fact that some excited and bad men are congregating and endeavoring to promote confusion and disorder, and deeming it for the best interests of our citizens of all classes that no cause be given or permitted to influence passions or prejudices; therefore, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me as Mayor of the city of Chicago, I hereby order that all saloons in the city be closed, and that no liquor be sold by any licensed saloon keeper or others from and after six o'clock P. M. of this date until further notice, under penalty of the law and forfeiture of license.

All patrolmen and policemen are hereby instructed to see that this order is promptly and vigorously enforced.

M. HEATH, *Mayor.*

On the same day, Governor Cullom, of Illinois, issued a proclamation, in which, after reciting that troubles were occurring in certain States, he called upon the people to aid in maintaining the peace; enjoined vigilance upon mayors, sheriffs and others in authority in suppressing violence, and declared all these questions must be regulated by ballots instead of mobs.

The merchants of the city also armed their employés and made preparations to defend their establishments against the mob. "The strike," said a Chicago letter, written on the 25th, "has brought business at the banks to a complete standstill. The express companies are unable to receive currency for shipment, hence the city banks are unable to respond to the calls of country institutions for funds. The impossibility of obtaining currency from New York is also inconvenient, and places some of the banks who had previously tele-

graphed there for funds to be forwarded by express in an awkward position. Exchange is virtually unsalable from the fact that it is deemed useless to remit East with the expectation that it will go through. To use the expression of a prominent banker, they are 'completely tied up, being short at both ends and in the middle.'

"To-day the police and the mobs have met face to face about a dozen times. On Twenty-second street, which penetrates the lumber districts, two skirmishes occurred. The police were attacked with stones, clubs and missiles of all kinds, but they did not lose their temper nor their patience, and bloodshed was avoided. They have been provoked to the very verge of madness several times during the day; many of them have been hurt severely with clubs and stones, but they have obeyed orders and behaved admirably.

"There were as many as twenty different mobs parading the city at all hours from seven o'clock this morning up to the present writing. These mobs visited the factories, wagon shops, foundries, stone yards and lumber yards on their line of march, and prevailed, either by argument or threats, upon the men to strike work and help to swell their crowd."

At noon on the 25th, the aspect of affairs seemed so threatening, and the size of the communist mob appeared to be increasing so rapidly, that the Mayor issued a proclamation asking all good citizens to organize themselves into safety guards in their respective wards, called upon all to respect the laws, and asked aid and encouragement for the military companies then under arms.

This was followed soon after by an address signed by

the Mayor and a number of the leading merchants, bankers and journalists of the city, calling for a grand mass-meeting at the Tabernacle at half-past three P. M. At this meeting there were fully sixty thousand business men present, and a resolution was adopted approving the course of the authorities, and standing by them in their efforts to preserve the peace. A special meeting of the City Council was also held, and a resolution was adopted giving the Mayor plenary powers. The merchants held meetings in different parts of the city at night, for the purpose of effecting an organization.

The strength of the mob was variously estimated at from 25,000 to 40,000 men. During the night they caused serious trouble. A mob gathered at the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy round house, on Sixteenth street, soon after dark, and began to put out the fire in the engines. For near an hour they stoned the building and crowded around the yards, when all at once a squad of police that had been summoned rushed up and were met by a volley of stones. The officers drew their revolvers and fired on the mob, which retreated at the first fire. Three men fell; one was carried away by the mob. It is said that sixteen were wounded by the firing, which lasted for ten minutes.

The officers at length exhausted their cartridges and charged upon the crowd with their clubs, when they retreated up Halstead street. Soon after the squad retired the rabble returned and stopped the street cars on the Halstead street viaduct, stoning the inmates until they alighted. One car was torn to pieces, and the others taken to the stables.

The rioters next broke into a gun shop at No. 152 South Halstead street, completely gutted it, taking away

fifty breech-loading shot guns, one hundred and fifty revolvers, and several kegs of powder. They then passed off south toward Bridgeport, and gave no further trouble during the day.

During the afternoon, a strong force of regular troops arrived at Chicago from the far West. The prospect was so threatening that it was deemed best to hold them at Chicago. On the 26th, an additional force arrived, making twelve companies of regulars in all. They were commanded by Colonel John H. King, of the 9th Infantry, and were quartered at the Exhibition building. All were veteran Indian fighters, and men who could be relied upon in any emergency. Their spirit was happily shown in the following conversation between one of the men of the 9th Infantry and a rioter:

"One of the 9th Infantry, a tall Virginian, was spoken to, as he was off duty, and the committee of rioters sent to sound the regulars began by wishing to know if he wasn't a workingman at home.

"'To be sure I am,' said he; 'I've had to work mighty hard for what I've got.'

"'A good many of the other boys are workingmen too, I suppose?'

"'Yes; I don't believe there's a real capitalist in my whole company; all of us had to work before we enlisted, and God knows we have worked since.'

"'Well, then, I don't think you would fight mighty hard to kill a fellow-workman who was trying to get his rights; you would most likely fire a little too high, eh?'

"'I never heard of any such thing as that,' said the soldier, 'and I don't believe it's in any book of tactics.'

But I'd jest as leave as not tell you what we will do with any one who tries to keep a man from working here, or who don't do as we tell him plumb—gut straight; we'll mighty likely put one of these here (pulling a cartridge-shell from his belt) right through his liver and things. Fire high! Why, damn your souls, there ain't any such command, and there won't be till this row's over."

On the morning of the 26th, the Governor of Illinois made a formal demand upon the President of the United States for troops, and orders were immediately sent to General Sheridan's head-quarters at Chicago, directing him to place the troops in that city under the orders of the State authorities. Colonel Drum, General Sheridan's adjutant-general, at once sent the following despatch to the Governor:

HON. S. M. CULLOM, Governor of Illinois:

I have the honor to report I am authorized by the President of the United States to act under your orders with the national troops in this city in suppressing the riot in Chicago.

(Signed) R. C. DRUM, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

The Governor replied as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, July 26th, 1877.

COLONEL R. C. DRUM, U. S. A.:

You will please report to the Mayor of Chicago, and act in concert with him in putting down the mobs and riots, and in keeping the peace and protecting the property of the people.

(Signed) S. M. CULLOM, *Governor.*

Chicago was profoundly excited on the morning of the 26th of July, and it was generally felt that the day



FIGHT IN
AGO.

would not pass without a serious conflict with the mob. The rioters called themselves workingmen, but they were generally loafers and bummers who never did an honest day's work. The leaders were communists. But few honest workmen were found in the crowd, and the railroad men could scarcely be seen in it.

About nine o'clock in the morning a meeting of self-styled workmen, mainly made up of roughs and loafers, was convened at Turner Hall, in West Twelfth street, within a block and a half of the police station. Nobody seemed to know what was going on, but it was understood that certain carpenters and cabinet makers, representing, or claiming to represent, their respective trades, were gathered there for conference. The mob began to gather, and surged up and down on the sidewalk and in the street, a howling, yelping mob of irresponsible idiots. They talked of what they were going to do, and how they had gotten things all their own way, every language except Chinese being used. The communistic element was largely represented, many of the lowest class of Poles and Bohemians being on hand.

About ten o'clock a body of twenty-five policemen appeared on the scene. As they neared the surging crowd, the hooting and howling became terrific, and the mob began to pelt the officers with bricks, stones, and other missiles. The police stood the attack quietly for a few minutes; but this encouraging the mob to greater violence, a charge was ordered, and the men turned upon their assailants, hitting right and left with their clubs, and hitting to hurt.

Outside the police station was another detachment of officers, numbering about a score, who speedily came to the assistance of their comrades. There was a very

lively fight for a few minutes, but discipline and organization proved too much for the rioters, who were soon put to rout. The police, having disposed of the outsiders, forced their way into the hall. In the second story they found a panic-stricken mob of perhaps one hundred and fifty, who, in their frantic efforts to escape, ran hither and thither like rats in a pit. Many jumped from the windows, and so gained the street, but some seized chairs and other pieces of furniture, with which they attempted to defend themselves. A good many were hurt during these operations, but none fatally, and only one of the special police received any damage. He was led back to the station, where it was found that, aside from a cut on the head, of no great depth, he was all right, and he remained on station duty during the day. The crowd spread itself over the neighborhood, many of the rioters having received a lesson which will lead them to respect the police a trifle more in the future.

While the rioting about Turner Hall was in progress, a crowd of boys and roughs gathered about the Halstead street viaduct. The street cars were stopped, and for some time it appeared as if the roughs were to have everything their own way. A detachment of twenty-five policemen sent to disperse them was received with stones and revolvers. The police returned the fire with good effect, knocking over several of the rioters with their bullets. But the crowd, being constantly swelled by reinforcements, maintained their ground. Stones were thrown at the police from the roofs of houses and from alleyways. Having exhausted their ammunition, the officers at length retired, the mob following, hooting, yelling, and throwing stones. On

meeting with a detachment sent to reinforce them, the police turned, and made a vigorous charge on the rioters, and scattered them in all directions.

This defeat by no means disheartened the mob, and they gathered again at the Halstead street viaduct. By eleven o'clock they numbered fully ten thousand men and boys. The undecided peacefulness of the horde had vanished; their numbers seemed to inspire them with the valor of savages; and it was evident that they were bent on violence, and would hesitate at nothing. The north approach to the Halstead street viaduct, and the structure itself, were black with the mass of rioters. The aspect of affairs was so threatening that a strong body of police was sent to the viaduct with orders to disperse the mob. The moment the rioters beheld the approach of the police, who marched from the Harrison street station, they broke indiscriminately and fled to the other side of the viaduct, howling like fiends. The police broke into a run, and pursued them, firing as they ran. A counter charge was made by the rioters in an attempt to pass the police on the viaduct, in order that there might be a force of desperadoes on each side of the beleaguered peace defenders. The scheme was promptly and creditably frustrated by a free use of the baton and a display of pistols, from which blank cartridges were fired. The mob then pitched itself headlong down the descent across Sixteenth street, where a bolt was made. A large body turned west on Sixteenth street, and a similar crowd went east, in the direction of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy freight houses. There was a brief moment of inactivity, during which the police formed in line and prepared for a charge.

This was the signal for a shower of stones, pistol shots and other missiles. For a little time the wildest disorder prevailed, and it was evident that the police were just a little alarmed, as well they might have been, at the overwhelming force arrayed against them. For half an hour the discharge of weapons was kept up at short intervals, in reply to stones that were being continually pelted down from all sides. With every moment of delay, during which the rioters were unharmed, the belief grew in their minds that the police were not firing bullets, and they began surging near a central focus. Several times did a few of the more daring attempt to break in upon the police, and each time they were successfully repulsed.

The police had now but a few rounds of ammunition left, and it was evident they could not stand their ground much longer unless reinforcements came. Seeing that the rioters were again closing in on his men, as if they knew they could not fire many more times, Sergeant Butler gave orders to his men to fire off rapidly all the charges they had left, and at the same time to withdraw across the viaduct towards the station. The order was obeyed, and the police having exhausted their ammunition, formed in line, and started back across the viaduct. The tremendous crowd of maddened roughs at once started in hot pursuit, throwing volley after volley of stones, which fortunately failed to do any damage. The police attempted to guard their retreat at first, but soon found it absolutely impossible, and they turned and fled. The chase for life and death was one of the wildest excitement. The vast throng hung closely upon the heels of the police, and did not cease to pursue till the latter arrived at Fifteenth street. The

position of the police was now critical in the extreme. The rioters were pressing them hard, and unless assistance should come it was plain they would never reach the station. At this moment, however, a cheer was heard, and a body of veteran cavalry, under Colonel Agramonte, dashed into the street and rode rapidly at the rioters. This force was followed by several large wagons, furnished by Field & Leiter and J. V. Farwell & Co., bearing reinforcements of police. These came up on a run, and the men dismounted and joined their comrades, who had made so gallant a stand against the mob.

When the rioters saw the cavalry and reinforcements of police, they turned to retreat. Then began the most destructive scene of the morning. As they ran the police began firing. One of the mob was shot through the brain and instantly killed; another was killed by a projectile hurled by one of his own party. The police used their clubs effectively, sparing no one. One fellow was hit a telling blow, that crushed in the back of his skull. When he fell he was borne away by his comrades. The police made no attempt to cross the viaduct a second time, but stopped a little northward. The cavalry pushed on over the bridge and drove back the rioters. During the remainder of the day the cavalry were kept on duty in the vicinity of Halstead street, breaking up crowds wherever they would collect, and capturing rioters, over one hundred of whom were sent to the station houses.

About eleven o'clock orders were received by the Second Illinois Regiment to proceed at once to the scene of disturbance. The men were instantly gotten under arms, and the regiment set out on the double quick for Halstead street, accompanied by two pieces of artillery.

The mob, though cowed by the firm treatment it had received, was not yet conquered, and rumors were constantly coming into the city authorities of fresh outbreaks in the southwestern quarter of the city. About half-past twelve o'clock the Mayor called upon Colonel King, commanding the United States troops, for aid, and two companies of regulars were at once ordered out. As the veteran Indian fighters, all bronzed and ragged, filed out of head-quarters and marched down La Salle street toward Twelfth street, a cheer went up from the assembled crowd that fairly shook the building. Their soldierly appearance, their total lack of excitement, the clock-like regularity of their step and the determination depicted on the countenances of the commanding officers, and, more than all, the appearance of those ounce-bore Spencer rifles that shoot sixteen times without loading, indicated that should they be called into action, they would make short work of the mob. They proceeded to Twelfth street, but no resistance was offered to them by the rioters, who slunk away sullenly before them.

During the day additional companies of regular troops arrived. The regulars were posted at various points in the city which were believed to be in danger. The Second Illinois Regiment was kept on duty at the Halstead street viaduct, and the First Regiment was stationed close by. Parties of cavalry and police patrolled the city during the day, making many arrests. The rioters did not dare to gather in force again, but small crowds constantly assembled on the streets as fast as broken up, and while no effort was made to oppose the troops with force, the rioters vented their rage by cursing them roundly. Several minor encounters took place

between the police and the mob during the afternoon, but no general outbreak was attempted. The rioters were still noisy and loud in their threats, but they were too thoroughly cowed by the determined attitude of the military and police to attempt a renewal of their efforts of the morning.

The number of persons killed and wounded during the conflicts of the day was as follows: killed eleven, all rioters; mortally wounded three, all rioters; wounded eight policemen and thirty-five rioters. It is believed that this list does not represent the true amount of the casualties. The rioters carried off their dead and wounded, and it is probable that the exact number will never be known. The list does not include the injuries received by the rioters from the clubs of the police.

The night of the 26th passed away without further disturbance, the city being held by the regulars, the volunteers and the police. The rioters were feverish and restless, but avoided a conflict. They had lost their courage, and were afraid to meet the force opposed to them.

On the morning of the 27th a crowd was reported to be gathering at the corner of Archer avenue and South Halstead street, in the quarter known as "Bridgeport." Three cavalry companies and two companies of the Second Regiment were ordered to the spot. The Board of Trade cavalry and Colonel Agramonte's veterans, some three hundred strong, repaired to the scene, supported by the infantry. The mob was dispersed without difficulty. The Halstead street viaduct, the scene of the disturbance of the previous day, was held by the Second Regiment. The cavalry patrolled the western part of the city throughout the day. The mob was

sullen and cross, but it was beaten, and the danger was at an end. The police and the cavalry had orders not to allow people to gather in crowds in the streets, and this order was rigidly enforced. The Mayor issued the following proclamation :

The city authorities having dispersed all lawlessness in the city, and law and order being restored, I now urge and request all business men and employers generally to resume work, and give as much employment to their workmen as possible. I consider this the first duty of our business community. I am now amply able to protect them and their workmen. Let every one resume operations, and report any interference at police head-quarters. Citizens' organizations must continue in force, and on no account relax their vigilance, as the cause of trouble is not local and not yet removed. All such organizations should form themselves into permanent bodies, continue on duty and report regularly as heretofore.

M. HEATH, *Mayor.*

A number of arrests of rioters were made during the day, among them Mike Lynch, one of the most desperate and resolute leaders of the mob.

On the evening of the 27th the First and Second Regiments were relieved from duty at Halstead street and its vicinity, and were marched to more pleasant quarters.

From this time the excitement in Chicago gradually subsided. The communist leaders and their desperate followers saw that they were no match for the force at the command of the authorities, and were terrified by the wholesale arrests of their comrades. They slunk out of sight, and in a day or two Chicago was enjoying its normal repose. The railroad men, disheartened by

the failure of the strikes on other parts of their roads, surrendered to their respective companies, and returned to duty at the old wages.

Other parts of Illinois shared in the general excitement, but no serious conflict occurred, nor was any great damage done outside of Chicago. At Peoria a mob seized several of the railroads entering the city, and attempted to stop the running of the trains. The local authorities took prompt measures to put down the outbreak, and the volunteer companies of the town were ordered out to assist the police. On the 26th of July the police made a gallant charge on the mob, and arrested three of the principal leaders. The prisoners were taken to the jail, and the mob followed with the intention of rescuing them. The military at once repaired to the jail, and forced back the mob at the point of the bayonet. The mob, deprived of its leaders, was powerless, and though threats were freely indulged in, no further violence was attempted. On the morning of the 27th the trains were started on the various roads under the protection of the troops.

On the 27th of July the Governor of Illinois issued the following proclamation :

Whereas, Certain persons active in the violation of law have assumed to interfere with and prevent the movement of railroad trains in this State, and have sought to intimidate honest workingmen engaged in the avocations by which they earn their daily bread, and to compel them to cease from their labor; and,

Whereas, This condition of affairs continues, and is intolerable, entailing as it does disastrous consequences, the nature and extent of which it is impossible to foresee:

Therefore, I, Shelby M. Cullom, Governor of Illinois, acting under and by the authority of the laws of this State, do command all such riotous and disorderly persons to desist and return to their homes, and do call upon all Sheriffs, Mayors and other officers charged with the execution of the laws to break up all conspiracies against the rights of property and of persons, and to this end to employ every lawful means in their power, and do enjoin upon all good citizens to assist in bringing about the restoration of order, the resumption of business, the moving of trains, and the revival of manufactures. I further give notice that the entire military force at my disposal as Commander-in-Chief of the militia will be employed for the support of the civil authorities in this endeavor, and that orders will be given to the troops to use whatever amount of force may be necessary to compel obedience to the laws.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed.

Done at the city of Springfield, this 27th day of July, 1877.

S. M. CULLOM, *Governor.*

By the Governor:

GEORGE H. HARLOW, *Secretary of State.*

There were slight disturbances at Decatur, Effingham, Galesburg, Joliet and Carbondale, but no outbreak. Braidwood, an important place in the mining regions, was profoundly excited by a strike of the miners, but no trouble was experienced.

At East St. Louis, on the Illinois shore of the Mississippi river, opposite the city of St. Louis, there was quite a formidable strike, and the State authorities were compelled to break it up by a concentration of State troops. We shall relate the events of this movement in the next chapter, in connection with the St. Louis riots.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ST. LOUIS RIOTS.

Beginning of the Strike at St. Louis—Agitation among the Communists—Trains Stopped at East St. Louis—Matters at the Union Depot—A Plucky Conductor—Strikers Cross to St. Louis—Work Stopped at St. Louis—Seizure of the Union Depot—A Drunken Leader—Arrival of the Regulars—Cause of the Inaction of the City Authorities—Efforts to Prepare for a Conflict—Communist Meetings—Forcing Workmen to Stop Work—Passenger Trains Stopped at East St. Louis—Organization of a Citizen Force—The Mob take Possession of the City—Manufacturing Establishments Compelled by the Rioters to Close—Exciting Scenes—The Negroes Force Steamboat Men to Increase Wages—The Civil Authorities Ready—Meeting of Communists at Schuler's Hall—It is Broken up by the Police—Flight of the Communist Leaders—Strikers Driven from the Union Depot—The Danger Over in St. Louis—Regulars sent to East St. Louis—The Governor of Illinois Reaches East St. Louis with Troops—The Strike Collapses—Return of Peace.

THE city of St. Louis is the terminus of a number of important railway lines. The Mississippi is here spanned by a magnificent iron bridge which gives St. Louis direct connection with the States lying east of the great river. The eastern end of the bridge is at **East St. Louis**, in the State of Illinois. Here the shops and round houses of the various railroads using the bridge are located. East St. Louis is thus a very important railroad point, and being so closely connected with its greater neighbor over the river, the strikes on the two sides of the river were really one movement, and must be treated as such.

On the 22d of July, signs of excitement and disaffection began to show themselves at East St. Louis. A secret meeting of the railroad men was held in the

afternoon, at which it was resolved to make a formal demand upon the various lines centring at St. Louis for an increase of wages, and to inaugurate a general strike, should the demand be refused.

After the adjournment of the secret meeting, an outdoor meeting was organized, in which about two hundred members of the French, German, Bohemian and English sections of the workingmen's party of the United States from St. Louis, participated. Their coming was greeted with cheers and much enthusiasm. Several speeches were made by the leaders of this section, in which they offered sympathy for the strikers, and pledged themselves to stand by them in their struggle. It was stated from the stand that there would be another meeting at night, composed strictly of railroad men, at which a declaration of their purpose, and what action they proposed to take, would be made. The section of the workingmen's party above referred to held a meeting at Turner's Hall in the afternoon, and after several speeches on the labor question in general, and the present situation in particular, they unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, The workingmen of the different railroads in this country are rising *en masse* to demand their just rights; and,

Whereas, The United States government has allied itself on the side of capital and against labor; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the workingmen's party of the United States, heartily sympathize with the employés of all the railroads in the country who are attempting to secure just and equitable reward for their labor.

Resolved, That we will stand by them in this most righteous struggle of labor against robbery and oppres-

sion, through good and evil report, to the end of the struggle.

The demand agreed upon by the meeting of railroad men was made upon the various companies on the night of the 22d, but was refused. At midnight a general strike was begun on all the roads at East St. Louis. On the morning of the 23d it was announced by the strikers that passenger and mail cars might be run on the eastern roads, but that no freight trains would be permitted to pass. The men were quiet and orderly, but determined. The companies generally accepted the situation, and made no effort to run their freight trains. The men of the Toledo & Wabash road had not had their wages reduced, and declared that, though they had no grievance against their company, they struck out of fellowship for the employés of the other roads.

An effort was made during the morning to start a freight train on the Chicago & Alton road, but the strikers stopped it and took it back into the yard.

Everything was very quiet at the Union depot, and in the yards of the Union Railway & Transit Company at St. Louis during the morning. One stock train was allowed to cross the bridge, but none were permitted to pass after twelve o'clock.

The employés of the Transit Company, who do duty in East St. Louis, fifteen in number, struck with the firemen and brakemen of the railroad. The employés of the company on the St. Louis side of the river, whose duties are performed at and in the vicinity of the Union depot in moving trains in the yards, through the tunnel, and across the bridge, did not formally strike, but they were idle for the reason that there was nothing

for them to do, as the strikers across the river would not permit the freight trains to pass.

The Transit Company rescinded their order for a reduction of the ten per cent. on wages, and notified their employés to that effect, but the latter took no notice of it. During all, the trains on the Missouri, Pacific & St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern roads went out and came in as usual, there being no strike on those roads yet, nor had the employés manifested any disposition to take action in the matter. The St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railroad does not connect with the Union depot, but has its own depot in the southern part of the city. Everything was quiet on that road, and business was progressing in the regular way.

The strikers in East St. Louis gave a special permit to the National Stock-yard people to use their own locomotives to haul feed to the yards for the stock there. They also permitted the Union Railway & Transit Company to select ten men to switch passenger trains coming to the Relay depot at East St. Louis, and destined for the city.

On the morning of the 24th, the East St. Louis strikers, encouraged by having been unmolested by the civil authorities, changed their plan of operations, and refused to allow the running of passenger trains. Upon the arrival of the eastern bound train on the Vandalia road at the Relay house at East St. Louis, an effort was made to impede its progress. After the short halt there, which is customary with all trains, and when the train was just getting in motion, a striker drew the coupling pin behind the mail car and called to the conductor, "Go on with your United States mail; we've

got nothing against the government." This act and declaration was greeted with loud shouts by the five hundred strikers. Conductor McMahon stepped out on the platform of a car and appealed to the mob to replace the coupling pin and permit him to proceed. He said, "I have one hundred and twenty-five passengers on



SNOW SHEDS ON THE CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD.

board, and they have paid their passage to eastern points on the faith of your promise that you would not interfere with passenger travel. You are in honor bound to let them pass." [Cries of "That's so." "Let them go," etc.] "It's a mean, contemptible trick," said the plucky conductor, "and if you persist in it, it proves that you are not honorable men." The appeal of

the conductor created a dissension in the ranks of the strikers, many of them contending that the train should be allowed to pass, and others declaring it should not. Nearly an hour was spent in wrangling among the men, and finally the committee in charge decided to let the train go, and it is unnecessary to say it went very rapidly.

In the meantime there was great excitement among the passengers inside, and two or three of the ladies fainted, one of them, an invalid, being still unconscious when the train took its departure.

When the mail train on the Cairo narrow gauge road arrived at the Relay house the passenger car was detached from the mail coach, and the conductor proceeded without his passengers. In the meantime the leaders telegraphed across the river to their representatives in the city not to allow any more passenger trains to pull out from the Union depot

At eleven o'clock, twenty-five strikers, under the leadership of Frank Becker, an old engineer on the Ohio & Mississippi road, boarded an engine and tender, steamed through the tunnel, and dashed into the Union depot. This was the first appearance of the strikers in the limits of St. Louis proper, and their arrival created a great sensation in that hitherto quiet neighborhood. They quickly alighted from the engine that had borne them over, and, with a shout, proceeded across the depot sheds, where they seized two engines belonging to the Missouri Pacific road, and, mounting the engines, steamed rapidly up the track a mile and a half to the machine shops of that company.

The workmen in the employ of the Missouri Pacific Railroad at the machine shops, numbering two hun-

dred and fifty, had been advised by the strikers that they would be visited during the day, and when the strikers arrived, they received them cordially, though they continued their work; and in answer to the question whether they were willing to strike, replied that the Pacific Company had partially acceded to their demand, and they thought they ought to continue at work. "But you must help us out," replied the leader of the strikers, "and in order to do this you must quit work." A long conference between the strikers and workmen ensued, and, at the end of half an hour, the former, despairing of success in inducing the latter to strike, withdrew. A number of policemen stationed at the machine shops attempted to prevent the entrance of the strikers into the shops, but their efforts were fruitless.

From here the strikers returned to the Union depot, and at two o'clock, when the Belleville passenger accommodation train on the Cairo road was about to start out, Becker, the leading striker, stepped aboard the engine and whispered to the engineer, who, with the fireman, immediately left their posts, and the strikers announced that the train would not be permitted to leave the depot. Officers of the road expostulated, but for over two hours the strikers were firm in their refusal to grant the request. At the end of that time the train was allowed to go. A large force of police were on hand, but did not undertake to interfere with the strikers. Three or four thousand people, composed of discontented and unemployed laboring men, gathered under the depot sheds, and much incendiary talk was indulged in.

A chief cause of the excited comment among them

was the anticipated arrival from the West of six companies of colored infantry. Frank Becker, under whose orders the strikers were acting, became considerably intoxicated by frequent visits to the saloon under the depot, and made a number of violent harangues, in one of which he said : " If the country doesn't think that we strikers mean business, let them wait and see. We intend to show the capitalist that poor people will have bread, even if they have to fight for it. If the public understood the secrets of our order, they would know how powerful we are. They talk of bringing nigger troops to quell us. By God! let them come, and when they do, you strikers get out your little knives and your pistols and shoot hell out of them. Kill a few, and the balance will run like sheep." When these sentiments were uttered, several of the more discreet strikers gathered around Becker and persuaded him to quit talking, and he finally yielded, subsiding into comparative quiet.

As a result of these riotous demonstrations the police cleared the saloons in the neighborhood, and ordered them to be kept closed. About four o'clock another engine, with three flat cars loaded with 400 strikers from the eastern shore, arrived at the depot, and were received with loud cheers by the crowd. The strikers disembarked, formed in line, and, with the music of a fife and drum, marched in the direction of the Pacific machine shops. At every street crossing the procession was joined by numbers of sympathizers, and by the time the shops were reached there were 2,000 men in march.

Arrived at the shops, they found that the shopmen, being advised of the approach of the strikers, had

already quit work, and were on the platform ready to meet the strikers. A representative machinist received the visitors and made a speech to them, saying the shopmen had concluded not to strike, but to quit work in deference to the demands of the strikers. They had no cause of complaint against their employers, but would not return to work until the strikers had secured a redress of their wrongs.

From this place the strikers marched to the North Missouri Railroad track on the levee, where they took possession of an engine and ten flat cars, and boarding them proceeded to the round house of that company in the northern part of the city, where they were met by the employés of the company. A conference was held, and as a result the employés agreed that no more freight trains should be allowed to go out on the road from St. Louis. The strikers returned to the Union depot at six o'clock.

The long-expected train, having aboard General Davis and six companies of infantry, steamed into the depot, and the blue coats were received with wild and prolonged cheers by the thousands present. The train had no sooner come to a halt, before armed sentinels issued from the coaches and began to walk up and down the railway platform. The soldiers numbered 350 men, and the crowd was gratified to find that they were white instead of colored, the impression having gained that they were colored troops.

In reply to a question addressed to him, General Davis said: "I have been ordered here with general instructions to protect the property of the United States, and shall participate in no movement looking to anything else without I have specific orders from

army head-quarters." After remaining at the Union depot about one hour the troops were formed in line and marched to the arsenal barracks, five miles below the present centre of trouble. Besides his musketry, Davis had two Gatling guns with him.

The arrival of troops had no perceptible effect in cooling the ardor of the strikers, the leaders declaring that they would avoid collision with the troops, but were determined to carry their point at every risk. By nightfall nearly all the strikers had deserted the eastern side of the river, and were congregated at the Union depot, where they passed the night. During the day there was great popular excitement throughout the city, and the strike was the absorbing theme of conversation. A serious feeling of apprehension was abroad among the people, and a general belief prevailed that the crisis was bound to result in blood and devastation.

The city authorities had been very passive since the beginning of the strike, and their attitude excited much indignant comment at the time. It was based upon the fact that there were not 1,000 stand of arms in St. Louis at the disposal of the authorities, and it was deemed best not to undertake to interfere with the mob until it could be done in an effective manner. In the meantime every exertion was made by the municipal authorities, in concert with a number of prominent citizens, to obtain arms and ammunition for a force of five thousand men.

On the night of the 24th the Internationalist, or Communist leaders, who have a large following in St. Louis, held meetings in several parts of the city, which were attended by monster audiences. The most incen-

diary speeches were made and threats of burning the buildings of the newspapers, which had criticised them only, were indulged in. Processions of excited men marched through the streets yelling and making other noisy demonstrations. A large proportion of the city police force had been withdrawn from the regular beats and held in readiness at the points of danger.

The morning of the 25th found the city greatly excited. About nine o'clock a crowd of 1,500 men assembled in Lucas' market place around a stand erected by the workingmen's party, while two or three thousand spectators gathered in the vicinity. The crowd was made up mostly of wire-workers who have struck, and strikers from other manufacturing establishments. At ten o'clock they formed in column and marched past the City Hall to Turner Hall, where the executive committee of the workingmen's party was in session. Half an hour later a body of 500, made up chiefly of negroes, was sent to the levee and marched its entire length for the purpose of inducing the roustabouts to join them. The strikers said they were to receive explicit orders from hour to hour, and expected to stop all manufacturing establishments before night.

A committee of the men of the Laclede Gas Works waited on the officers of the company at ten o'clock, and asked that the reduction of twenty-five cents a day, made on the 1st of July, be restored. The request was immediately granted, and the men returned to work. The Laclede Works supply all the city north of Washington avenue with gas.

The coopers held a mass-meeting during the morning on Chambers street and Broadway, and received the

reports of the committees appointed on the previous night to wait on the bosses. The latter acceded to the demands, and restored the price for hand-made barrels from nine cents to twelve cents. There was a hitch about machine-made barrels. The committee reported that the bosses were only willing to give eight cents. The meeting insisted on nine cents, and the committee was instructed to make another visit to the shops and report at four o'clock.

A crowd of 2,500 people gathered at the Union depot, but nothing of importance occurred there. The only passenger train which passed east over the bridge during the morning was the Toledo, Wabash & Western, the strikers making an exception in favor of that road because of its position toward the employés in the past. On the other roads only the postal cars were allowed to leave. The Chicago & Alton people refused to be dictated to, and at the regular hour sent out their postal car and baggage car and one passenger coach. The train reached East St. Louis, but the strikers refused to allow any but the engine and postal car to proceed. This discrimination was declined, and the whole train was backed over to the depot on the city side.

The Missouri Pacific machine shops and freight depots and yards were closed, and none of the men were at work. They told the officers of the road that they were satisfied to work, but that it would only precipitate an attack and general trouble with the strikers. The position of the men was approved by the company, and the shops and depots closed by mutual consent. The company sent out three or four freight trains between one and five o'clock in the

morning, but decided not to start any more for the present.

A delegation of strikers from the city visited Cheltenham, four miles west of the city, during the morning, and ordered the men out of the smelting and fire clay works. They offered their employers to continue at work if protected, and a request was sent to police head-quarters for a detail of police, but it was refused. The police force was on duty at station houses, and the city was almost entirely unpatrolled. The force was kept in reserve, to be used only when the strikers should resort to violence or a mob should be formed.

Another urgent request for a detail was received from officers of the Union Street Railway, an important line, which runs from Fourth and Locust streets to the Fair Grounds. The employés notified the company that unless the recent cut of ten per cent. was restored, they would strike at twelve o'clock and stop the cars. Fears were entertained for the safety of property. The police were instructed to be in readiness to march to the stables upon the commission of any overt act, but not before. A large body of men and boys employed at the beef-canning works paraded the streets in the morning, bearing a banner with the inscription: "Beef canners. Solid strike. Fair dealing is our motto."

During the day the Mayor of St. Louis published a proclamation warning all persons against the commission of acts of violence, and ordering the strikers to desist from interference with railroad property. He also announced that a Committee of Safety had been formed under the direction of General A. J. Smith, Judge Thomas T. Gantt, General John S. Marmaduke,

and others. A "Citizen's Organization for the Protection of Property" was organized, under the command of General A. J. Smith, who established his headquarters at the Four Courts. Meetings were held by citizens in various parts of the city, and companies were formed and officered. These at once reported for duty to General Smith, and by nightfall the organization numbered 1,500 armed men. A company of fifty men was organized for gun-boat service, and placed on the city harbor steamer, with orders to patrol the river. The work of organization was carried on rapidly, and by noon the next day 10,000 citizens had enrolled themselves.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th a procession of 2,000 men, consisting partly of workingmen who had joined the strikers, but mostly of loafers and idlers, marched from Lucas Market to the manufacturing district north of Washington avenue. They first visited Belcher's sugar refinery, where 400 employés were forced to quit work on the day before, and finding the doors closed, broke them open, rushed in, extinguished the fires in the furnaces and displaced the machinery, so the employés could not return to work, as they had announced their intention of doing. Many of the workingmen protested against injuring or destroying property and abandoned the procession; but the mob continued its march, visiting about forty different factories and flour and planing mills, compelling the employés, aggregating nearly one thousand, to quit their work and close the doors, although the employés in many cases earnestly protested against being interfered with.

On Biddle street they visited a vacant building that

had formerly been used as a chair factory. The rioters, not knowing the building was disused, broke open the doors and rushed in. A squad of police appeared on the scene and commanded the mob to leave, which they did, and in a few minutes after they left the building was discovered to be on fire. An alarm was sounded and the fire engines came out, but the fire had progressed too far to be checked, and the building, together with a large quantity of lumber in an adjoining yard, was destroyed. The mob, who had undoubtedly applied the torch, at once dispersed when the alarm was given.

Several large planing mills were among the establishments closed by the mob. No respect of persons was shown, women and girls being treated in the same manner as the men. All were forced to stop work whether they were willing or not. The operations of the mob were generally uniform. The following incident, taken from the St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, will illustrate the method of the rioters :

“ The mob then moved forward again. The negroes and white roustabouts had left their place at the rear of the crowd and were companions in the van. Many of them had taken in beer and liquor on the line of march, and were growing noisier than ever.

“ ‘ To the Hemp Works,’ was the command passed through the mob. They turned off at Stoddard avenue. They were making for the bagging manufactory of Edward S. Douglass. When they got near the building the brass band played ‘ Le Marseillaise.’ The mob began to run. A dozen rushed up to the front door. It was locked. A hundred men ran across a lot through the yard of a private residence, and reached the north side of the building. The windows on the ground floor

RIOTERS COMPELLING WORKMEN IN THE ST. LOUIS FACTORIES TO SUSPEND WORK.



were opened and they climbed through. Another crowd broke down the gates and ran into the alley way at the south of the building, and climbed into the windows.

"On this floor the looms operated by the girls were in operation. When the mob broke in they left their posts shrieking and frightened, and shrank behind the looms. More than 200 men were in the room. They were all howling like madmen. The foreman came forward.

"'Shut down,' yelled the mob.

"'She is shut down,' replied he. But the men did not seem to hear, and kept howling. Some of them threw the belts. The girls were in a terrible state of fear. Some of them fainted.

"'Get out of here, every — one of you,' howled a man who aspired to lead the mob. Those of them not deprived by their fear of all motion fled from the building, climbing out of the windows and swarming out the doors.

"The negroes were conquerors here. One of them cried out, 'Let's break the looms.' A dozen voices cried, 'No! no! No damage!' 'Clean out the upper story,' commanded some one.

"Fifty men ran up the steps. Here the scene on the lower floor was duplicated, the employés being mostly women and children. The women shrieked and the children cried. The few male employés were powerless before that crowd, who wanted but a word to proceed to deeds of violence and destruction. The entire building was gone through, and the employés actually driven into the streets."

A mob of negroes proceeded to the levee, and forced the officers of all the steamboat companies and independent steamers represented there to sign pledges to increase the wages of all classes of steamboat and levee laborers. Their demands were of the most extortionate

character, the increase insisted upon ranging from sixty to one hundred per cent. They were very peremptory, and would not allow a boat to leave the wharf until their demands were complied with.

The rioters were very insolent and defiant throughout the day, and announced their intention to close every workshop and place of manufacture in St. Louis. As was to have been expected, the negroes were by far the most turbulent and unmanageable of the rioters. But little business was transacted in the city. Many of the stores were closed, and the work of arming and drilling the citizens' force at the Four Courts was carried on rapidly. The sheriff also organized and armed a posse of 2,000 men. Governor Phelps arrived in the city during the morning and gave his aid to the work of suppressing the disorder.

The arming and drilling of the citizens was carried on actively all morning at the Four Courts building. No outward demonstration was made up to noon save that heavy guards were on patrol duty in front of the building. Two large brass field-pieces loaded with shrapnel, and with horses attached and ready to move at a moment's notice, were kept in waiting in the yard of the jail in charge of a company of sixty men.

About half-past ten o'clock a large crowd marching in procession arrived in front of the Four Courts building. The rioters broke ranks at once, and surging up to the pavement pressed hard upon the guards, who were doing duty on the side-walk. The guards were immediately reinforced by details from within, and the companies were formed to resist an attack. A detachment of police, headed by Captain Lee, left the building on a run, charged the rioters, drove them back a short

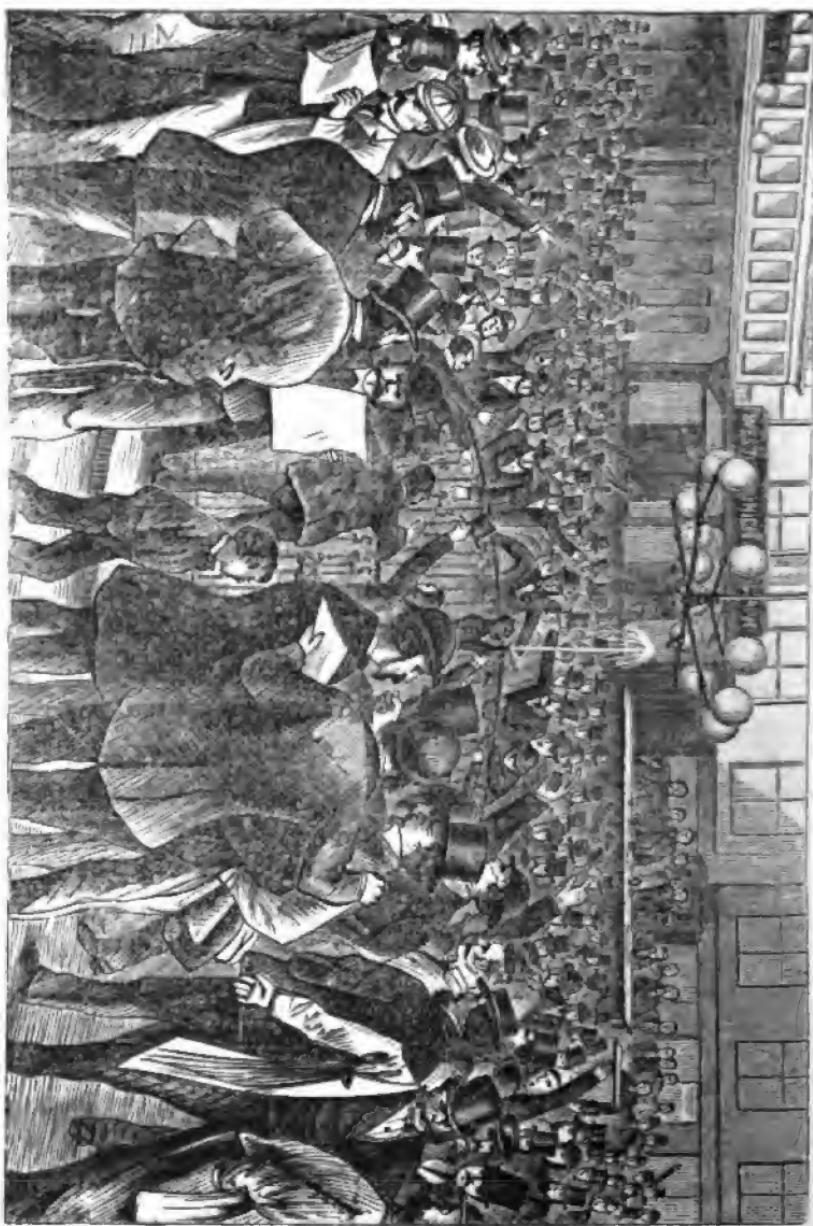
distance, and arrested two of their leaders. A few stones were thrown, but the mob made no effort at resistance. As the police withdrew, the mob pressed up close to the side-walks again, and jeered and taunted the military force in the most insulting manner, daring them to fire and commence a fight. The police pressed the crowd back again, and it withdrew for a square without resistance. A number of noisy and unruly men were arrested by the police and confined in the jail. No further disturbance occurred during the day. It was understood by the rioters, as well as by the citizens, that General Davis, commanding the United States troops at St. Louis, which now consisted of 600 men and a battery of Gatling guns, had orders from Washington to answer a call for help from the Mayor of St. Louis or the Governor of Missouri, and this rumor had a very quieting effect upon the rioters.

In the afternoon the Governor of Missouri issued a proclamation calling upon the rioters to cease their disorderly conduct and interference with private property and to disperse.

By the morning of the 27th the city authorities felt themselves strong enough to put down the mob, and determined to check the disturbance. The rioters, up to this period, had been encouraged by the failure of the police to stop their lawlessness, and many of them were convinced that neither the Mayor, the police, nor the citizens' force would dare provoke a conflict with them. They were now to learn their error.

At an early hour on the 27th the mob began to gather at Schuler's Hall, on Fifth and Biddle streets, and by two o'clock upwards of two thousand men were congregated in the immediate vicinity, waiting to obey

MEETING OF CITIZENS AT ST. LOUIS TO TAKE MEASURES TO PUT DOWN THE RIOT.



the orders of their so-called executive committee, the body specially delegated to direct the movements of the crowd. The last proclamation of the Mayor and that of the State government commanding them to disperse and return to their homes or else take the consequences, was freely circulated among them, but a general spirit of defiance prevailed, and bold threats of armed resistance were made on all hands. Inside the hall the executive committee were in session with closed doors, and there, too, the sentiment expressed was that any attempt on the part of police or militia to drive them away should be resisted to the last. Verbal orders were circulated among the mob to stand firm and that an armed force would not dare to molest them.

This meeting being reported to the Mayor, it was resolved by the city authorities to break it up and arrest the leaders. For this purpose fifty mounted police, twenty-five armed with muskets, and about the same number with the usual club and pistol, were ordered to proceed to the hall and make the arrests. That there should be no failure, five hundred of the Citizens' Guard and two companies of the National Guard, with one piece of artillery, were ordered to accompany and support the police should the crowd offer any resistance, or attempt to rescue the prisoners. This force left Four Courts at 2.30 P. M., under the command of General John D. Stevenson. Mayor Overstolz also accompanied the expedition.

About three o'clock the so-called Executive Committee were informed of the approach of the police and the military. Upon receipt of this news the boastful committee became panic-stricken, and one by one slipped away. They left the hall by a back window,

and escaped over the roof of an adjoining building, leaving their deluded followers to bear the attack. The crowd in front of the building remained in the street.

About three o'clock the military force, headed by the mounted police, appeared coming up Fifth street. The column halted within a square of the crowd, and drew up in line across the street, ready for a charge, while the piece of artillery was prepared for action. The military advanced no further, but the order was given to the police to charge the crowd and seize the hall. About one-half of the police swept down on the mob at a gallop, scattering the rioters right and left, driving fully three thousand men before them. They drew their pistols and charged on the crowd, riding their horses along the sidewalks, using their revolvers as clubs while the least hesitancy to move on occurred. In five minutes the street was cleared, and not a rioter was to be seen in the vicinity of Schuler's Hall save those in custody.

In the meantime the other part of the police force, headed by Captain Lee, had advanced to the foot of the stairs leading to the hall above. Captain Lee ascended first alone, and a moment after the whole squad went up, and two minutes later they brought down about seventy men whom they found in the hall, and placed them between lines of police, armed with muskets, and the whole thing was over. Every one in the upper part of the building was arrested. One man attempted resistance, but a blow over the head from a club subdued him quickly.

Having secured their prisoners, the police and military marched back to the Four Courts, and were greeted along the route with cheers from the citizens.

After the departure of the police, a few of the mob returned and indulged in bitter denunciations of their leaders for deserting them, but it was evident that the backbone of the riotous assemblage was completely broken, and that they would not likely have such another large gathering.

Another victory was won by the authorities earlier in the day. When the 27th opened, the Union depot was held by a force of strikers. The civil authorities resolved to put an end to this state of affairs, and at eleven o'clock a battalion of four hundred men, under Captain Silas Bent, was despatched from the Four Courts to the Union depot, with orders to take possession of and occupy that building and drive out the strikers. The arrival of the military was a surprise to the strikers, who held the depot in large force. About half-past eleven the battalion marched in with loaded rifles and fixed bayonets. Without the loss of a moment the order was given to clear the building and yards, and the troops executed it with a will, driving out the strikers with the bayonet. The movements of the troops were greeted with cheers and yells. The depot and yards being secured, the authorities announced that no more interference with trains would be permitted in St. Louis. Encouraged by the promise of protection, some of the roads on the west side of the Mississippi resumed their freight traffic on the 27th, and the rest prepared to do so in the next day or two. The city authorities also announced their readiness to furnish armed guards for such shops and manufacturing establishments as desired to resume work.

Three meetings were called by the Executive Committee of the workingmen's party, in various parts of

the city, on the night of the 27th, but two of them were total failures, the speakers not appearing, and the small crowds which gathered at the appointed places soon dispersing. The third meeting brought together quite a large crowd, but before the meeting opened the crowd was dispersed by a force of five hundred policemen.

The mob was now thoroughly cowed, and the danger was over. The 28th of July passed away quietly in St. Louis, there being no disturbance of any kind. A number of the leaders of the outbreak were arrested and imprisoned; their followers made no attempt to rescue them, having no desire to meet the five thousand armed citizens, the regulars, and the police, who now stood ready to crush any uprising. On the 28th, nearly all the roads on the St. Louis side of the Mississippi resumed their freight business. Sunday, the 29th, passed away tranquilly, and by Monday the danger was at an end in St. Louis, and the business of the city had resumed its accustomed course.

The expulsion of the strikers from the Union depot on the 27th confined the strike to East St. Louis. The strikers congregated there in considerable force, and, being very bitter over their defeat in the city, declared that they would maintain the blockade on the Illinois shore with even greater vigor. They were not to succeed, however. The Ohio & Mississippi, and the St. Louis & Southeastern Railroads were being operated by receivers appointed by the United States court. The court ordered the United States Marshal to prevent the strikers from interfering with these roads. The strikers resisted, and the Marshal, being unable to execute the orders of the court, asked for troops to assist him. His appeal was granted, and orders were sent from Wash-

ington to General Davis to station a force of regulars at East St. Louis to enable the Marshal to protect the property in his charge. This was done, and while General Davis had no orders to prevent the strikers from interfering with the other roads at East St. Louis, he intimated that, as riotous proceedings would endanger the property he was ordered to protect, he would put down any violence at once. The presence of the regulars greatly encouraged the officials of the other roads, and correspondingly demoralized the strikers. The danger in Chicago being over, Governor Cullom hastened to East St. Louis with seven companies of Illinois State troops. He informed the strikers that the blockade of the railroads must be raised at once, and that he was prepared to employ a still stronger force if necessary. The strikers yielded sullenly. The presence of the regulars and the State troops, and the certainty of coöperation between the forces of Illinois and Missouri in case of need, convinced them that it was not in their power to carry out their unlawful programme. The strike had failed in all parts of the country, and they must share its fate. They submitted, and gradually returned to duty. By the 1st of August East St. Louis was quiet, and all the roads were in uninterrupted operation.

CHAPTER XIII.

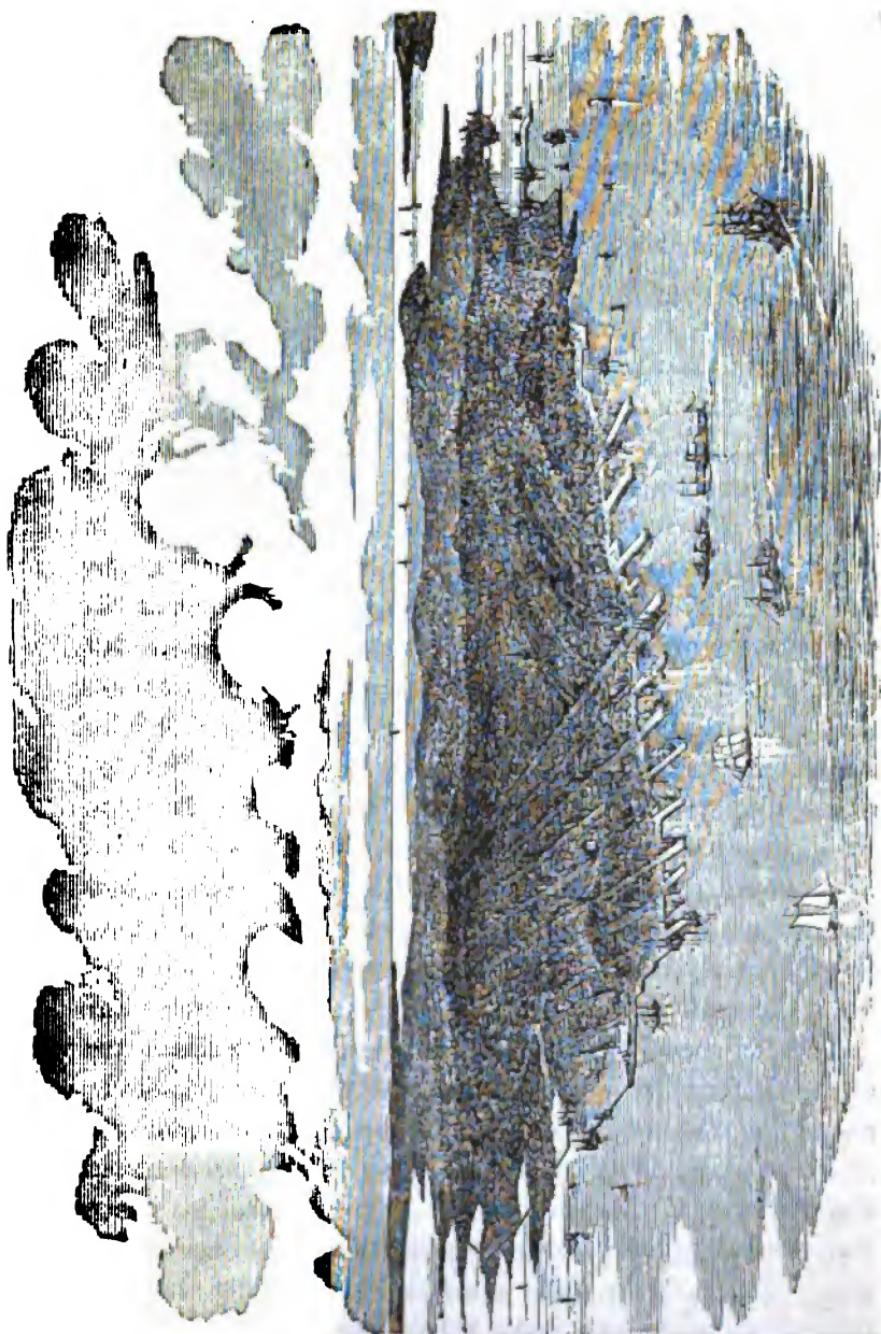
THE SAN FRANCISCO RIOTS.

Hatred of the Chinese by the Lower Class of San Francisco—Origin of the Riots—The Labor Meeting—Attack on the Chinese—The Riot Spreads—Action of the City Authorities—Arming the Citizens—Fire at the Pacific Mail Dock—The Rioters attack the Vigilantes and are Defeated—Exciting Scenes—A Night of Terror—The Mob Cowed—End of the Danger—Triumph of Law.

THE city of San Francisco contains a large Chinese population. Between these and certain portions of the white inhabitants there has always been a bitter enmity. The working classes are especially hostile to the Chinese, as they regard them as rivals in the labor market; but the bitterest enemies of the Mongolians are the "Hood-lums," or the idle loafers, street loungers, and "bummers," of the city. Many riots have occurred between the Chinese and their enemies in San Francisco, and not long since it was seriously proposed by the whites to organize a deliberate movement for the purpose of compelling the Chinese to leave the entire State of California. It was well understood in San Francisco that this feeling of hatred to the Chinese only lacked a favorable opportunity to break out into open hostility.

The news of the labor troubles in the Eastern and Western States was received with profound interest in San Francisco, especially by the working classes. On the evening of the 23d a workmen's meeting was held, and was attended by about 10,000 persons. The meeting broke up at ten o'clock without making any violent

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO.



demonstrations as a body. Shortly before adjournment a portion of the crowd wrecked a Chinese wash-house in the neighborhood. The majority of the throng dispersed towards their homes; but several hundred of the men banded together and proceeded to the corner of Geary and Leavenworth streets, which was occupied by a two-story frame building containing a Chinese laundry and fruit store on the ground floor and forms the residence of the family above. The crowd attacked the place, broke the street-lamps, and by smashing a kerosene lamp inside set the building on fire. A white woman was saved alive with difficulty from an upper story. The mob impeded the firemen and cut the hose, and the building was destroyed. The mob then started down Geary street to Dupont street, with the evident intention of raiding the Chinese quarter. On their way they attacked and closed up a number of Chinese wash-houses. By the time they reached Dupont street they were 500 or 600 strong. Here they were met by a force of police, who formed in line across the street. The rioters attempted to break through the line, but the police stood firm, and were promptly reinforced from the City Hall. By a free use of clubs they beat back the crowd.

The police held Dupont street at the corner of Pine street all night against the main body of the mob, while strong squads were posted at the intersection of M. street crossing Dupont, the main object being to keep the mob out of "China Town." The rioters evidently lacked leaders, and their movements were without concert. They made little show of resisting the police other than crowding upon them, yelling and deriding them. The general impression among the authorities

was that by vigilant and determined action on the part of the police, the crowd could be held in check during the night, though their cries of "China Town," at one A. M., were ominous. The militia were ordered under arms, but remained at their armories all night, not having been called upon for service. The firm front presented by the authorities finally had its effect, and the mob finally dispersed, and the police remained masters of the situation.

All the streets leading to the Chinese quarter were strongly guarded during the night and the next day, and no one was allowed to pass along Dupont street. During the contest several stones were thrown at the police, hitting one or two of the force, but doing no injury in consequence. While the disturbance was in progress in the south end of Dupont street, another mob, numbering 500 or 600, gathered at the northern extremity of that thoroughfare, wrecked a few Chinese houses, and attempted to penetrate into the Chinese quarter. They were finally forced back by the police and dispersed.

During these attempts to assail their quarters the Chinese manifested much alarm, and early in the evening every door and shutter was closed fast and not a Chinaman was to be seen on the streets.

The violence of the mob thoroughly aroused the city authorities to the danger. The police were kept on duty through the 24th, and held the rioters down. About nine o'clock, on the night of the 24th, a crowd of hoodlums collected, and wrecked a Chinese house on National street, near Fifth. They then gathered on Fifth street, near the United States Mint. A few officers were sent to disperse them, but were unable to

effect anything. Reinforcements were sent out, and after a severe clubbing the mob broke. Some two or three hundred of them subsequently started up Mission street, and from Eighth to Twelfth streets cleared out every Chinese house on the street, the occupants abandoning them to secure personal safety. Arriving at



FIRE IN THE CHINESE QUARTER, SAN FRANCISCO.

Twelfth street, they were joined by a crowd, who had been depredating on Brannon street, and the combined force moved to the corner of Twelfth and Folsom streets, where they tore down and set fire to a Chinese match factory and laundry. Here they were again attacked and roughly used by the police, and quiet

was restored. The mob dispersed and apparently sought their homes. About fifteen minutes after eleven o'clock P. M., a Chinese wash-house in the extreme northwestern portion of the city was fired and burned down, but the police, on their arrival, found no trace of a crowd or further disturbance.

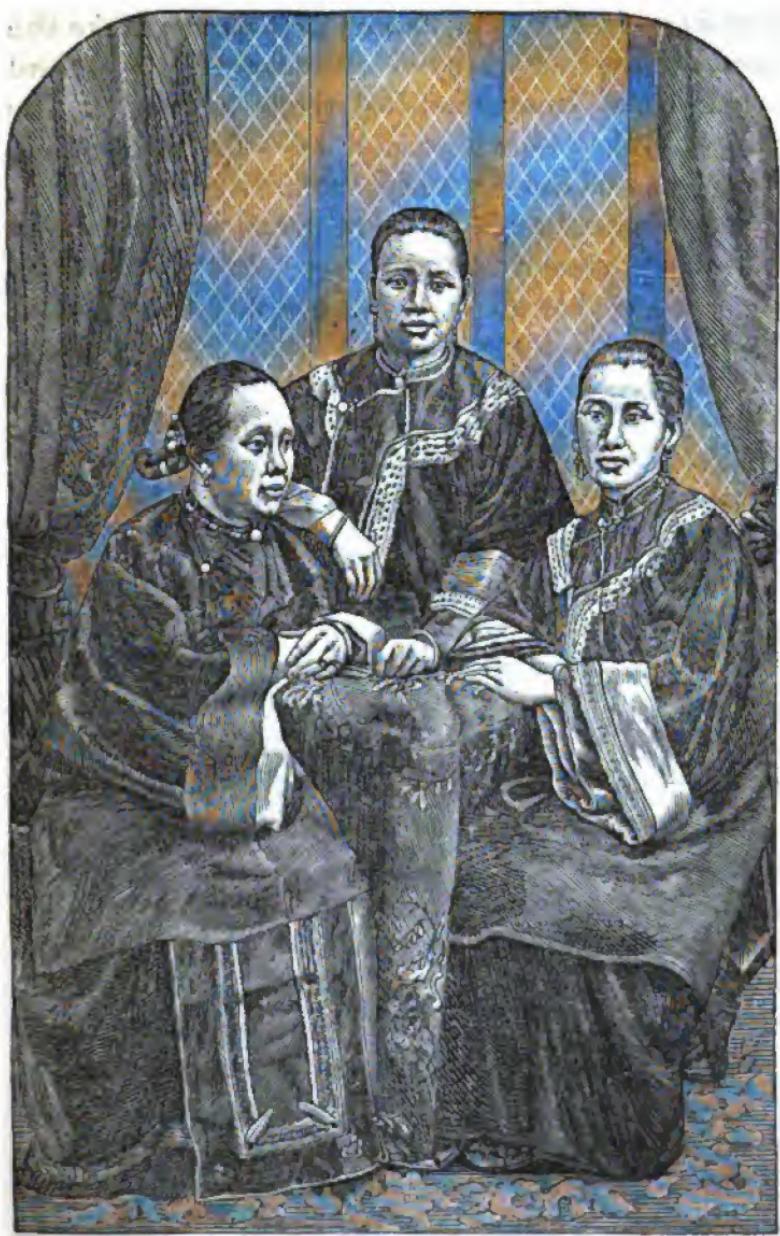
It was clearly evident that the police force of the city would not be strong enough to control the mob in case of a general attack upon the Chinese, and it was resolved to call upon the citizens for aid. A Citizens' Executive Committee was organized, under the presidency of W. T. Coleman, and this body called upon the people generally to volunteer for the defence of the city against the mob, promising arms to all who would join their organization. The call was largely responded to, and during the 25th a force of 3,000 determined citizens was organized. They were generally armed with clubs and pistols, but preparations were made to issue muskets to them in case of necessity.

A meeting of the vigilantes, as the force was termed, and of all citizens wishing to aid in enforcing order, was called to assemble at Agricultural Hall on the night of the 25th. It met at the appointed time, and was called to order by W. T. Coleman, the President of the Executive Committee, about eight o'clock. At this moment news was received of a large fire at the docks of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. It was soon ascertained that the fire was in a large lumber yard near the dock. One hundred of the committee armed with clubs were at once despatched to the scene, followed soon after by a hundred more. The remainder of the committee were then told off in companies by wards, and with the exception of about two hundred

proceeded to the City Hall to await orders from the Chief of Police. Sixty were despatched to Sixth and Howard streets, to disperse the crowd collected there smashing Chinese houses. The fire department was promptly on hand at the Pacific Mail docks, and, under the protection of the police and the vigilantes, set to work to extinguish the flames. A rioter was caught in the act of cutting the hose, and was shot down. The vigilantes closed the streets leading to the fire, and made every effort to protect the firemen in their work. The sight of the flames rendered the rioters furious, and they exerted themselves to spread the fire. They pressed heavily upon the police and vigilantes, and the riot increased in dimensions every moment.

The wharves and lumber and coal yards in which the fire was raging were surrounded on the land side by a fence running near the bottom of a steep hill leading up to St. Mary's Hospital. On the top of this hill a crowd had assembled. While a portion of them attempted to set fire to the fence, the police and citizens attempted to drive them off, and were met by a shower of stones from the hill. The hill was then stormed in the face of a hot fusilade of stones, and the mob began firing pistols. The force answered with a volley, and, getting to close quarters, used their clubs with telling effect.

In the charge Herman Gudewill, the note-teller in the London and San Francisco Bank, fell fatally wounded. Another citizen was shot dead, and a great many were wounded, more or less seriously, by stones and pistol shots. It is impossible to state the loss of the rioters. Several were reported killed and wounded, but nothing is definitely known. At least one hundred



CHINESE FAMILY, SAN FRANCISCO.

427

shots were fired into the mob. This charge broke the courage of the mob, many of whom were captured, and a long chain being stretched across in front of the mail dock, they were manacled to it for safe-keeping. The mob at no time obtained access to the mail dock, which was closed, strongly guarded, and several cannon planted commanding the entrance. In the meantime, the fire had burned immense quantities of lumber, mostly belonging to Simpson Brothers, McDonald, Mills & Co., and Starbuck & Goldstein; also the wood yards of O'Connell and Higgins and Collins, and a great deal of similar property owned by various parties.

The ships at the wharves were hurriedly towed to places of safety. The firemen, after the first outbreak, were well protected and worked with but slight hindrance. After the police and citizens had dispersed the mob, a portion of the latter, including some who had been raiding on Howard and Folsom streets, gathered in the vicinity of the Grand and Palace hotels, on Market street. Some of them penetrated into Kearny street. Here they were met by a force of citizens and driven back to Market street, while another detachment of citizens and police marched along Montgomery street, and taking the crowd between them punished them severely and scattered them. During the remainder of the night the rioters roamed in small gangs over that portion of the city lying south of Market street, closely watched by the police and citizens.

During the night a number of Chinese houses were attacked, and a house near the corner of Folsom and Eighteenth streets was set on fire. The alarm was sounded, and the engines and a force of vigilantes

repaired to the spot. It was rumored that a Chinaman had been burned to death in the building. A man was arrested by the vigilantes on the suspicion of being the incendiary. A bottle of benzine was found upon him, and he was sent to prison.

During the 26th the enrolling of citizens went on actively, and several companies of veterans of the civil war were organized. A number of arrests of rioters were made, and several attempts to collect crowds on the streets checked by the police and vigilantes. The city was thoroughly patrolled, and it was made evident to the rioters that any further outbreak would be promptly and forcibly crushed. A letter from San Francisco, on the 26th, says:

The vicinity of the City Hall early in the evening presented an aspect calculated to convince the dangerous classes that any outbreak would be attended with consequences disastrous to themselves. All the court rooms in the building, the outer police office, the police yard, and the court of the building were crowded with well-armed and determined men, representing every class of society. Merchant street, between Montgomery and Kearny, was lined on one side with large express wagons ready to transport reinforcements rapidly in any direction. The other side of Merchant street, and on Kearny street, in front of the City Hall, was filled with the ranks of the Committee of Safety, and large bodies of the same force were marching and drilling in the immediate vicinity. In addition numerous companies of fifty had been despatched to every quarter in town, and in some localities, where danger was more particularly apprehended, their numbers were increased.

The riot was crushed, and the danger over; and though the disorderly element made loud threats of vengeance, no further disturbance was attempted.

The San Francisco riots, it will thus be seen, were in no way connected with the railroad riots east of the Rocky Mountains. They were a brutal and unprovoked outbreak of the worst elements of the city, and were caused by nothing but a love of violence and disorder on the part of those who engaged in them. As they occurred simultaneously with the railroad troubles in the East, they are generally classed with them; and for this reason have been related here.

CHAPTER XIV.

ACTION OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

Intervention of the Government Unexpected by the Strikers—Course of President Hayes—The Constitutional Use of the Army—Calls of the States for Troops Answered—Action of the Government in Illinois and Missouri—Effect of the Presence of the Regular Troops—Service of the Signal Corps—The Strike and the Mails—Action of the Post Office Department.

THE intervention of the military power of the Federal government in behalf of the endangered railroad property of the country was a phase of the great outbreak which was certainly not contemplated by the strikers in commencing their movement. When the Governor of West Virginia called upon the President for assistance, there was a feeling of general surprise throughout the country ; and when it was learned that the force sent in answer to his call numbered but a few hundred men, it was feared by many that it was not in the power of the general government to deal with such a movement as vigorously as it demanded, inasmuch as the army was too small and was scattered over so wide an extent of country. In addition to this, the use of the Federal army in the affairs of the States under the previous administration had so shocked the best sentiment of the country that many persons feared the employment of the army in the present instance would lead to results equally deplorable.

The course of President Hayes and his advisers proved in the main entirely satisfactory to the country,

and demonstrated that the constitutional use of the army is in no way dangerous to the independence or reserved rights of any of the States ; and the firmness and moderation which marked the action of the government called forth praise from all parties. The task before the President was a very delicate one ; he was to fulfil his constitutional duty of protecting the States against internal disorders which they could not suppress, and he was at the same time to treat the disturbance as a matter strictly within the jurisdiction of the State, or in other words he was not to take the enforcement of the laws out of the hands of the State authorities, but was merely to sustain them in their efforts to suppress the disorder ; and to do this he must place the Federal troops under the orders of the Governor of the State into which they were sent, and must still retain the general direction of them. In other words, the Federal troops were to be so many policemen loaned to the States to enable them to execute their laws. Happily for the whole country, the President was fully imbued with this view of his duty in the matter, and his course was in accordance with it.

Upon the receipt of the call of the Governor of West Virginia for troops, a force was sent to that State, under the command of General French, as has been related. Somewhat later, General French, who regarded the general government as having for the time taken possession of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, if not of the States of West Virginia and Maryland, and held that, as an officer of the army, he could receive orders from the War Department alone, became involved in a quarrel with the officers of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. He asked to be relieved, and his request was granted and

he was succeeded by General Getty. Both the President and General Hancock, who were in full sympathy as to the policy of the government, took care to make it plain that the Federal forces sent in answer to the calls for help, were subject to, and not superior to the orders of the States into which they were sent. West Virginia having no militia of her own was compelled to depend entirely upon the Federal force, and the State authorities left to General Getty the control of the movements of his men, wisely trusting in his experience and patriotism to conduct the campaign with a view to promoting the best interests of the State.

Maryland was the next State to apply for aid, and received it promptly. The officials of this State were fortunate in having General Hancock—the model soldier of the republic—in immediate command at Baltimore. General Hancock, as we have said, was in full sympathy with the President's policy, and, apart from the encouragement given by his presence, did no more than advise the Governor of Maryland. Yet he directed the action of the State through the great influence he justly exercised over the State authorities.

The third State to ask and receive assistance was Pennsylvania, and here the same policy was pursued. General Hancock repaired to Philadelphia and Governor Hartranft gladly availed himself of the experience and advice of his old commander. At the same time the troops were used under the orders of the Governor.

When the call of Governor Cullom, of Illinois, for aid was received, the matter was considered at a special session of the cabinet. It was decided that the condition of affairs in that State was not such as would

justify the President in issuing such a proclamation as had been addressed to the rioters in the other States. At the same time orders were sent to General Sheridan's head-quarters at Chicago directing him to instruct the officers commanding the troops in that city to respond at once to any call of the State or city authorities, and to act in obedience to their orders; and the Governor of Illinois was promptly advised of these orders.

Later still, when violence was threatened in St. Louis, General Davis was instructed to hold his men in readiness to aid the authorities of the city if called upon by them. At East St. Louis the Federal troops were used in the legitimate task of assisting the United States Marshal to overcome the opposition to the orders of the Federal courts.

Thus, in every instance, the policy and conduct of the government conformed to the principles of the Constitution. The States were enabled to execute their laws, and were never overshadowed within their own limits by the Federal power.

The presence of the United States troops had everywhere the happiest effect. Though the detachments sent to the various points of danger were small, they were everywhere respected, and feared by the rioters. Their discipline and steadiness made it certain that they would obey orders literally and promptly, and the character and experience of the officers were a guarantee that while they would deal with the disturbance with forbearance and moderation, they would also put down resistance to them promptly and with vigor if called upon to act. Wherever the regulars appeared, the rioters slunk away; not a hand was raised against

them; and their service was confined entirely to guard duty.

The force at the disposal of the government was, as has been said, small, and was scattered over the whole country. It became necessary to concentrate as strong a force as possible in the States of West Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and at the earliest moment. For this purpose detachments were brought from the Atlantic coast ports, and the troops that had been stationed in the Southern States by President Grant for political purposes were moved northward to the scene of danger. The policy of the government was to act with caution, but also with vigor and promptness. This line of conduct was strictly adhered to. The troops behaved with admirable firmness, paying no attention to the jeers and insults of the rioters, and avoiding in every way giving provocation to the mob.

In order to answer the calls of West Virginia and Maryland, Washington City was for a time stripped of troops, and the government property there left defenceless. The places of the regular garrison were supplied with men drawn from other quarters of the country.

During the whole of the disturbance, the Signal Corps of the army rendered important service, in forwarding to the war department news of the events at their respective posts. The despatches of the signal officers were regularly laid before the cabinet, and were always found free from exaggeration and thoroughly reliable. The government came to depend upon them as its most accurate source of information.

The government was seriously embarrassed in its operations by the strikes. The following letter from the Washington correspondent of the *New York Tribune* will show the extent of this trouble:

WASHINGTON, July 24th.

The laborers' war against the railroads is already having a very disastrous effect in the obstruction of public business. The Adams Express Company informed the officers of the Treasury Department yesterday that it would decline to take any more money-packages for transportation to New York or elsewhere, and similar notices have probably been given in regard to business this way. Had this notice not been received, the Treasury Department would have suspended the shipments of money, because the Secretary and the Treasurer were unwilling to assume the attendant risk, especially as a nice legal point might be raised, in case of loss, as to where the responsibility for it would rest. Under ordinary circumstances the express company insures the safety of the money it transports; but if it should be lost or destroyed through the operations of a mob, especially in States which have asked the aid of the general government, the express company might hold that the fault was that of the government, that the responsibility for the loss did not rest with it or its agents. The average amount of money received here daily for the Redemption Bureau and for the Treasury proper is about \$1,000,000. The amount shipped each day is about \$750,000. Of this sum about \$800,000 is received daily by the Redemption Bureau, and about \$500,000 is sent away by it. Only four packages of money were received at the Treasury to-day, one for the Redemption Bureau and three for the Treasury proper. All of these came from the South. No money was received either from the North or West.

The Redemption Bureau had for some time been running behind-hand a little with its work, owing to leaves of absence granted to some of its employés, and sickness of others. Two or three days will be required to assort, count and prepare for redemption the money now on hand. After that, if the blockade continues, this Bureau will be obliged to suspend opera-

tions. It is not believed at the Treasury Department that such a suspension would result in any accumulation of national bank currency, either in the Treasury Department or in the banks. The latter, instead of forwarding the notes of other banks for redemption, or piling them up in their vaults to await the resumption of traffic, would simply pay them out again, and the only effect would be a temporary suspension of the operations of the Redemption Bureau.

In the Internal Revenue Bureau no effort was noticeable to-day upon the receipts from collectors. The money collected by this Bureau is forwarded to the Treasury in the form of certificates of deposit, which are sent by mail. Most of the mails arrived on time this morning, and the collections amounted to more than \$200,000, a sum larger than that received on Tuesday of last week, and rather larger than the average receipts of Tuesdays generally. If the mail blockade at important railroad points reported to-day continues, the receipts from internal revenue must be comparatively reduced.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company gave notice to the Treasury Department this morning that it could take no more freight for the North or West at present. This suspension affects chiefly the shipment of stationery to custom-houses, collectors of internal revenue, and other officers of the Treasury Department. The heavy summer shipments of stationery are made during the months of June, July and August, and the average amount forwarded at this time is from fifteen to twenty thousand pounds a day. Shipments destined for New York and the East, and for Atlantic coast points south of Washington, can be sent forward by water; but if the strike continues, and freight trains are suspended, the shipments of stationery West will have to be suspended. All the blanks used by officers of customs and internal revenue collectors are sent by mail, and the regularity with which they can be forwarded will

depend upon the success of the Post-office Department in keeping open the mail routes.

For the first time to-day the war upon the railroads has seriously interfered with the regular passage of the mails, and numerous despatches announcing blockades, and the resort to temporary arrangements for transacting the business of the postal service, have been received at the department. In general terms, these despatches report that no mails are passing over the Pennsylvania Railroad except on a few local routes, and that nothing has been sent from New York by that line during the last two days beyond Altoona. One mail a day is despatched from Baltimore and Washington to Cincinnati and St. Louis over the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; and no attempt is being made to forward more than one mail a day each way over any through line between the East and the West. The following despatch, received this afternoon from Mail Superintendent R. C. Jackson, at New York, gives an idea of the present condition of the mail traffic between the East and the West:

"Through western mails from New York, including all of Ohio and southwest Pennsylvania, are being sent by the Great Western Railroad. Pittsburg is sending mails by wagon to the suburbs for the Pan Handle route, which is open. Postal cars are running somewhat irregularly between New York and Pittsburgh, via the West Pennsylvania Railroad, but convey no other mails. The Erie road is apparently clear east of Hornellsville, but the postal cars were locked up at that point until this morning, when Chief Clerk Mills despatched eastward two postal cars with mails. New York and Dunkirk postal clerks are working up a mail for the line of their road in the New York post office. The postal car which left New York yesterday morning over the New York Central stopped at Rochester. The mail for the West and Northwest, which left New York

on Sunday at 8.30 p. m., and should have left Buffalo yesterday noon, is still at Buffalo. No trains are passing that point east or west. The prospects are good for getting a mail to Pittsburgh to-night. Route Agent Price is said to have been killed by a collision on the West Pennsylvania Railroad yesterday."

The following despatch from General Mail Superintendent T. N. Vail, also dated New York at three o'clock this afternoon, gives the last account of the situation :

"The information we now have is very indefinite indeed. Trains on all roads are very irregular and only local, with a postal blockade at Buffalo and Pittsburgh. The rioters at Buffalo offered to run the mails through to Erie, guaranteeing protection, and say that the despatches from Cincinnati, Indianapolis and Columbus show that the rioters will not interfere with mail trains. I have asked both Mr. Vanderbilt and Mr. Scott if we will not run us with special cars on regular trains as far as they control the roads, and with special trains through the riotous districts. If they refuse this we are absolutely blocked, as the Michigan Central is reported to have struck, and a strike has commenced at West Albany. The Lebanon Valley road is blocked. The bridge is burned at Reading."

On the receipt of this despatch, the Postmaster-General telegraphed immediately to Messrs. Vanderbilt and Scott, asking them if possible to make such arrangements as are suggested by Superintendent Vail. The strikers of Buffalo deny that they are responsible for the blockade of the mails at that point. A despatch was received by the Postmaster-General this afternoon, signed by a committee of railroad engineers on the Buffalo division of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad, of which the following is a copy :

"None of the mails have been interfered with or stopped here by parties known as strikers. We will furnish all engineers and firemen to pass all the mails regularly, at our own expense, if the railroad companies will permit us to do so."

Selden Marvin, the Mayor of Erie, Pa., also telegraphed this afternoon as follows to the Postmaster-General :

"A committee of strikers request me to telegraph you that the stoppage of passenger and mail trains here is not by their consent or procurement; that they protest against it, and are willing to aid to send forward all such trains."

The only route by which the through mail from the East to the West can now be despatched with certainty of its reaching its destination, is by way of Canada. Superintendent Vail telegraphed this afternoon to the Postmaster-General that all trains had been stopped at Buffalo, and that he had ordered a mail for the West to Toledo by the way of Suspension Bridge, until the trouble was over. He also requested that Mr. Blackman, Superintendent of Foreign Mails, be informed, in order that the Canadian government might be informed. The attention of the Canadian government had already been called to the blockade of the mails on through lines East and West, and in response to a despatch sent by order of the Postmaster-General, W. H. Griffins, assistant Postmaster-General of Canada, telegraphed this afternoon from Ottawa, Ontario, as follows: "I have requested the Great Western Railway to take charge of the mails you sent and give them conveyance." The blockade at Indianapolis is as complete as at Pittsburgh and Buffalo. William Holloway, Postmaster at Indianapolis, telegraphs to assistant Postmaster-General Turner this afternoon as follows:

"The strikers allow the mail to go only on trains

where there are route agents. They took the mail for Zanesville and the South off from the four A. M. train to-day, because there was no route agent on it. Hundreds of passengers have been stopped here, and are not allowed to proceed. I will have all trains watched hereafter, and will have affidavits made, and the parties who take mails off from trains arrested by the United States Marshal."

The following despatch from S. Jay French, Mail Superintendent, dated at Cincinnati this afternoon, also refers to the blockade at Indianapolis:

"The strikers have possession of the Union Depot, Indianapolis, and will not allow passenger trains to leave. They have allowed a mail car to go out on each road, and say they will let postal cars run regularly. The Chicago & Cincinnati night line and the Ohio & Mississippi run only an engine and postal car. The Pan Handle trains are running regularly, and but for the transfer at Pittsburgh through connection for mails for the Southwest could, I think, be made via Pittsburgh, if the Pennsylvania road is running trains. No trains are moving over the Cleveland & Pittsburgh road to-day."

The mails have also been interfered with at St. Louis, as the following despatch signed by George W. Parker, General Manager of the St. Louis, Alton & Terre Haute Railroad, and dated at St. Louis this afternoon, shows:

"A lawless body of men now holding sway at East St. Louis, Ill., forcibly stopped the running of our regular train carrying the mails this morning. The civil authorities are powerless to render adequate assistance, and to save bloodshed and the wholesale destruction of property the roads have thus far yielded to threats and intimidation only."

As we have seen, the strikers on several occasions undertook to run the mail trains over their roads, while

they refused to allow the passage of freight or passenger trains. The managers of some of the railroads expressed to the Post Office Department their fear that such a course would become general on the roads involved in the strike, and asked that orders be issued from the department to all clerks and other post office officials, not to recognize the strikers, and directing them not to proceed on trains which were not in the control of the officers or agents of the roads. It was suggested that orders be issued to deposit the mails at the nearest post office to the point where the trains passed out of the control of the railroad companies. The reply of the Postmaster-General was that when such a case arose and was brought to the attention of the department, a decision upon it would be promptly made; but that the Postmaster-General could not make a decision on a hypothetical case. At the same time, it was the inclination of the department in advance not to have any dealings with others than the managers of the railroads themselves. All the department contracts are made with the railroad companies, and stipulate that the mails shall be carried on the regular passenger trains. If passengers are not despatched, the government has no right to claim that the mails shall be carried otherwise. In addition to this the department was not willing to give the strikers any official encouragement, as might be done if special trains with postal cars and without passenger coaches attached, were run with its approval, and by the courtesy of the mob.

CHAPTER XV.

TWO VIEWS OF THE STRIKE.

Views of Colonel Thomas A. Scott—The Strike as Seen by a Railroad President—He thinks the General Government should have More Power to Protect Railroad Property—Views of a Striker—How he Proposes to Remedy the Trouble.

The *North American Review* for September to October, 1877, contained two articles relating to the strike, which are of so much interest to those interested in the question that we give the substance of them here. The first is from the pen of Colonel Thomas A. Scott, the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Colonel Scott, after reciting the history of the troubles, and stating the necessities of the railroad companies, makes the following deductions:

“This insurrection, which extended through fourteen States, and in many cases successfully defied the local authorities, presents a state of facts almost as serious as that which prevailed at the outbreak of the civil war. Unless our own experience is to differ entirely from other countries—and it is not easy to see why it should, with the increasing population of our large cities and business centres, and the inevitable assemblage at such points of the vicious and evil-disposed—the late troubles may be but a prelude to other manifestations of mob violence, with this added peril, that now, for the first time in American history, has an organized mob learned its power to terrorize the law.

abiding citizens of great communities. With our recent experience before us, it is believed that no thoughtful man can argue in favor of delay by the proper authorities in dealing with lawless and riotous assemblages. Delay simply leads to destruction of property, and may lead in the end to the destruction of life. The force used to repress such assemblages should be as prompt in its manifestation as the evil with which it deals. The interests concerned are too grave to admit of delay. The raising of the black flag and the stoppage of all vessels on the great lakes and on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers would not produce one tithe of the damage to the whole country that has resulted from the recent stoppage of the great trunk lines. The burning of the vessels and their cargoes on these waters would raise a storm of wrath which no mob would dare to face, and would be visited by the United States government, under existing laws, with most exemplary punishment. But what distinction can be established between such a crime and the hideous destruction at Pittsburgh of over one thousand eight hundred cars laden with the products of the various States, together with the engines ready to move them to their destination, and the station buildings and machine shops that were absolutely essential to their proper care and movement, and which, with other like doings, resulted in the stoppage of all commerce and business relations between the States not only on one highway, but on many important lines, through the concerted action of the mob and its leaders? In the city of Pittsburgh much human life and many private dwellings and other property were sacrificed as the result of mob violence; indeed, it is almost a marvel that a large portion of

that city was not destroyed by fire. Only the prevailing direction of the wind averted greater and more general disaster.

"The authority of the United States, now potent to protect commerce moving upon the waters, should be equally potent when the same commerce is exposed to greater peril upon land. This brings us, then, to the practical question: In what shape can this protection be put so as to be extended most efficiently and with the least delay? The present regulations all favor, unintentionally, the rioters and the mob. In the first place the Mayor of a city must exhaust his power, the Sheriff of the county must essay his strength; then, while precious time is expending—for a mob constantly attracts dangerous elements and grows with impunity and success—the Governor of the State must be called upon by the Sheriff of a county. If the State happens to have an effective military organization, which at the present time is the case in perhaps not more than five out of the thirty-seven States of the Union, the Governor can call out the military forces and suppress the riot. If the State has no such organization, or if the military forces of the State prove inadequate to the emergency, the Governor is paralyzed, and must call upon the United States for assistance. If the authorities of any State should, for any cause, fail or refuse to call upon the United States government, what possible remedy or protection is left to life and property within the limits of that commonwealth?

"It can readily be seen what frightful possibilities of mischief are afforded by the necessarily long interval which must elapse in the present state of our laws before the Federal authority can intervene in cases

where its intervention is most imperative. In fact, as our recent experience has shown, the only roads which could procure prompt protection and immunity from interference were those whose misfortunes had made them bankrupt, and placed them in the direct custody of receivers appointed by the United States Courts. To the aid of these roads the United States Marshal could call United States troops, and no rioter dared to resist the power represented by the small but admirably disciplined detachments quartered near the scenes of the recent troubles. It will hardly be contended that the railway companies must become bankrupt in order to make secure the uninterrupted movement of traffic over their lines, or to entitle them to the efficient protection of the United States government. If a bondholder or other creditor is entitled to the protection of the Federal courts to prevent the threatened impairment of the value of a property through legal proceedings, he certainly should not be left without remedy against lawless violence which has actually destroyed the security for his investment, and has, as at Pittsburgh, converted millions of dollars into scrap-iron and ashes. The laws which give the Federal courts the summary process of injunction to restrain so comparatively trifling a wrong as an infringement of a patent-right, certainly must have been intended or ought to give the United States authority to prevent a wrong-doing, which not only destroys a particular road, but also paralyzes the entire commerce of the country and wastes the national wealth. It is demonstrable that during the recent disturbances the government of the United States was itself a direct loser, and through the government the tax-payers of the whole

country to a very large amount, by the diminution of the national revenues, arising from the interruption of business and the interference with many of the operations on which the internal taxes of the country are levied, as well as by the diminution of the customs revenues, as all the imports during this period, instead of being forwarded to their destinations, were necessarily placed in store, of course without payment of any duty to the government for the time being. Suppose that this state of things had continued for sixty days, would not the United States government have been deprived of nearly all the revenues on which it relies to meet its current obligations?

"Certainly it cannot have been contemplated in the formation of our government that the United States authorities should submit to see the transportation of the mails, covering the enormous financial and business transactions of the whole country, and the movement of supplies required for its own various departments, made dependent upon the grace and favor of rioters, whose misconduct in almost any other form would have secured their immediate arrest and condign punishment. During the recent riots the movement of United States troops was impeded at several points, and large quantities of ammunition and other Federal stores on their way to the Pacific coast were forcibly detained for days. The operations of the national government in some parts of the country were as completely blocked as in the early days of the civil war. There certainly should be a protection against such dangers, and a remedy for such wrongs. If the government of the United States is to exercise its power of protection or of remedy, it perhaps can do so only

through an adequate exhibition of the military force that may be given it for such purposes by Congress. The important question is to ascertain in what way the government can so exhibit its military force as to secure the utmost possible efficiency in the enforcement of law and order, without jarring or disturbing the general framework of our institutions and our laws. It seems to be indispensable, in the light of recent events, that whatever force is to be used by the government in such emergencies should be so distributed and controlled that it may be concentrated upon any point or points that may be threatened within a few hours of any outbreak. Several companies of regular troops that were quartered at Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Reading, Scranton, Louisville, Chicago, and other places, during the recent riots, had to be transported for such distances that, if they had been compelled to march instead of moving by rail, they would have been powerless to avert mischief. It was only by the fear or favor of the rioters that the United States were able to concentrate their forces where they did. In some cases formal resolutions were passed by the strikers that no troops should be allowed to pass over the lines. In Jersey City a mob endeavored to prevent the departure of a United States battery and the troops connected therewith. On the Erie Railway, between Cornell and Hornellsville, a few lawless men, by tearing up tracks, destroying bridges, and tampering with switches, were able seriously to retard the military forces of the State, which were there under the orders of the Governor to re-establish law and order. What is needed, therefore, would clearly seem to be that proper forces should be so disposed at prominent

points—large cities and other great business centres, in many of which the government has arsenals, custom houses, mints, navy yards, and other property of its own to protect—that their movements can be combined rapidly and they be directed against points of danger, so as to be able to act effectively and with decision before violence can become triumphant.

“ With the experience of other countries to warn and guide us, and especially with the experience of England, where the rights of the people have for ages been guarded and asserted as jealously as they always have been and should be among ourselves, we shall have only ourselves to blame if, through apathy, demagogism or weakness, we leave ourselves unprepared to meet an issue which, from all the evidences of the times, is only too likely again to be forced upon us. With the approach of winter, and the loss of out-door employment which severe weather, even in the most prosperous times, entails, the country will have to deal not only with the deserving among the unemployed, who can be reached and helped through local organizations, but with vast numbers of idle, dangerous and, in many cases, desperate men, who have been allowed unfortunately to catch a glimpse of their possible power for mischief. Such men, unless confronted by a thorough organization in the cities, States and other communities, backed by the power of the Federal government and an unmistakable public opinion, will need but little urging to renew the scenes which have already brought such disgrace upon the American name. It surely may be hoped that at the approaching session of Congress the earnest, unprejudiced and patriotic men of both houses will discuss this grave

subject independently of party lines, and with the united resolve to secure equity to all interests, and to take all necessary measures to secure protection to life and property and the impartial enforcement of the laws, including the guarantee to every man of the right to work for such compensation as he may agree upon with other men, free from interference or intimidation. The able lawyers of the Senate and House will perhaps frame a law which will give to the owners of every highway carrying inter-State commerce, whether by land or water, in which citizens of different States are interested, or carrying the United States mails or other government property, the right to appear by petition properly verified before the tribunals of the United States, in order to show that the movement of such traffic has been interfered with by unlawful combinations, by threats or by violence, and which, upon such showing, will give these tribunals the right, when necessary, to call upon the United States, in the form now authorized by law, to enforce their process by arresting the rioters and the suppression of all such unlawful combinations.

"The magnitude of the evil to be met and dealt with can hardly be overstated. The remedy to be provided should be equally prompt and effective. It must be discussed and adopted in the interest of the whole country, and not of any particular class; for the interests of all classes of our citizens are the same in the maintenance of domestic peace and civil order. But to no one class in the community is an absolute assurance of peace so important as to the men who have no capital but their labor. When the accumulations of labor are put in peril by lawlessness, capital may always pro-

tect itself by suspending the enterprises which give labor its value and insure it its reward. Anarchy not only deprives the laboring man of his present subsistence, but puts in jeopardy all his hopes of improvement for his own future and the future of his family.

" My own railway experience, extending over a period of thirty years, leads me to believe that the managers of American railways in general may fearlessly appeal to their past relations with the faithful among their employés to prove that they at least have always endeavored to treat the interests of employers and employed as identical, and have never failed to take into prompt and respectful consideration every grievance which has been fairly and properly presented to them. I am sure that it has been the purpose of the company with which I am connected, to at all times pay its employés the best compensation that the business of the country would warrant; and I have no doubt that this will be the policy of the company for all future time, as it is founded on sound business principles no less than upon the instincts of humanity."

The second article referred to is entitled "Fair Wages," and is signed "A Striker," and contends that the rights and value of labor, which were acknowledged here forty years ago because the country wanted hands, now turns the laboring men's earnings against them, and the country's prosperity becomes their disaster. The writer concludes as follows:

" Let me put this matter in a plain way, as we understand it, and use round numbers, instead of fractions, as we have to deal with hundreds of millions, dividing the subject into sections.

" *First.* In the United States the amount of capital in-

vested in railway property last year was \$4,470,000,000, made up of \$2,250,000,000 capital stock, and \$2,220,000,000 bonded debt. The gross earnings were \$500,000,000, or about eight and a half per cent. on the capital. The running expenses (of which the bulk was for labor) were \$310,000,000, leaving \$185,000,000 as interest to the capitalist, or barely four per cent. on his investment. Labor is admitted into this enterprise as a preferential creditor, to be paid out of the gross earnings before the most preferred mortgagee or bondholder receives a dollar. For, as capital could not build the roads nor equip them without labor, so the enterprise, when complete, cannot be run without labor. Capital, therefore, takes a back seat when it comes to the push, and acknowledges not only that labor has the largest interest in the concern, but takes the first fruits. I take the railroad as a sample out of all enterprises, and if we could get at figures, there is no doubt it is a fair sample of the crowd. If, then, labor is the more important and essential factor in the result, when it comes to the question which of the two shall suffer in moments of general distress—the capitalist in his pocket or the laborer in his belly—we think the answer has been already settled by the rights assumed by one and acknowledged by the other.

Second. It is manifestly unjust that the working-man should be subjected to under wages in bad times, if he has not the equivalent of over wages in good times. If railroad companies in concert with the laboring class had established a tariff of labor, and paid a bonus on wages at every distribution of dividends, that bonus being in proportion to the profits of the road, so that each man becomes a shareholder in his very small

way, then he would have submitted to bear his share of distress when all were called on to share trouble, but to share it equally and alike.

“Third. When folks say that labor and capital must find, by the laws of demand and supply, their natural relations to each other in all commercial enterprises, and neither one has any rights it can enforce on the other, they take for granted that the labor ‘market’ is like the produce market—liable to natural fluctuations. If that were so, we should not complain. But it is not. The labor market has got to be like the stock and share market—a few large capitalists control it and make what prices they please. This sort of game may ruin the gamblers in stocks, and injure those who invest, but the trouble is confined mostly to those who deserve to lose, or those who can afford it. But not so when the same practice operates in the labor market. The capitalist must not gamble with the bread of the workingman, or if he does, let him regard where that speculation led France one hundred years ago, when the financiers made a corner in flour, and the people broke the ring with the axe of the guillotine.

“Fourth. When the railway companies obtained privileges and rights over private property, and became, by force of law, the great landowners of the State, holding its movable property as well, and controlling every avenue and department of business, public and private, they became powerful monopolies. The State endowed them with powers to frame laws of their own, and deprived citizens of their property, means, facilities of transport, to vest it all in these corporations. Thus endowed, they cannot pretend they are no more than ordinary commercial enterprises. They are responsible

to the State for the result of their operations if they disturb fatally the order of our concerns. They are not independent. The State has claims upon them it has not on private concerns. They may not accept liabilities and then decline responsibility. It behooves the State to decide what the people are entitled to in return for all they have conceded to these companies, and to enforce such claims.

"*Fifth.* The English Parliament legislated on the question of the number of hours a workingman should labor. It limits them to so many. It legislates for his health and supply of light and water. In all these matters the capitalist has an interest. (He does as much for his horse.) But when it comes to the question of a proper amount of food and clothing, of warmth and shelter, the government declines to interfere. It leaves the question of fair wages to be adjusted between employer and employed."

Commenting upon these articles, *The Philadelphia Times* pertinently said :

"The chief importance of these two articles lies in the fact that they are written by men who represent what are supposed to be the two most opposite views of the labor question. One is the leading railroad man of the country, the head of the great corporation which had to stand the brunt of the recent outbreak of violence. The other, though unknown to fame, is evidently a fair representative of the restless, discontented spirit that actuated that outbreak, and though he cautiously deprecates a resort to violence he leaves no doubt as to where his sympathies were. And yet neither of these representative men really discusses the questions involved with any thoroughness. Mr. Scott, indeed,

makes no pretence of doing so. He merely presents, at the editor's request, some practical thoughts suggested by his own observation and experience during the recent troubles, and these very naturally relate to the preservation of order and the prevention of riotous outbreaks, rather than to the causes or remedies of any existing troubles. The 'striker,' on the other hand, has nothing to say or to suggest, except that men are entitled to 'fair wages,' and that if the capitalist attempt to 'gamble with the bread of the workingman,' he must 'regard where that speculation led France one hundred years ago.' Unfortunately the capitalist, as the railroad man for example, has had too much reason lately to 'regard' this piece of history, which he has seen repeating itself under his own eyes, and it is a little disappointing to find that our representative striker has no very definite suggestions to offer as to how 'fair wages' are to be secured at a time when capital is making no profit at all.

"Mr. Scott's reflections upon the recent strikes are such as would be natural to any man who had been compelled to sit still and see the property under his charge destroyed in the absence of any adequate power to protect it; who had witnessed the failure of the local and even of the State authorities, and the fatal delays of a system that was never designed for such an emergency, and who felt the interests intrusted to him secure only when the strong arm of the Federal government was at last stretched out to protect them. Naturally and justifiably, Mr. Scott would strengthen those defences of law and order which his own experience has found most trustworthy. He would rely upon the Federal power to protect the commerce between the

States, and would provide for the prompt and speedy exercise of this power in every great emergency. We doubt if the country will follow him in this, or be willing to relieve the local authorities from the responsibility for the protection of property and the preservation of order within their jurisdiction.

"There is one thing, however, in Mr. Scott's paper which all classes will readily recognize, and that is the entire confidence which he displays in the honor and intelligence of American workingmen and his practical belief in the community of interest between employers and employed. A railroad president represents both the owners and the operators of the road, and it concerns the one class quite as much as the other that the business of the road shall be safely carried on. It is probable that he would not even dissent from the 'striker's' proposition, that when it comes to a question of which shall suffer in moments of general distress the demands of labor come first, since this has been practically acknowledged by everybody, and countless capitalists have done without their earnings within the last year that laborers might have bread. So, too, with the only practical suggestion which the *North American's* striker has to make, that workingmen, if they are to be subject to under wages in bad times, should have the equivalent of over wages in good times, since that is also generally acknowledged and in a limited sense has been generally acted on. If any system of dividing a proportion of the profits among employés would secure contentment and universal happiness, there is little doubt that employers would gladly adopt it and would find it profitable; only such a system is much more easily suggested than fully elaborated and carried into

effect. The first thing that we need is to learn to discuss these subjects temperately and in a spirit of mutual trust, and it is a good sign that the most conservative and eminently respectable periodical in the country has undertaken to direct the discussion into a profitable channel. It may be only an accident that the representative employer approaches the subject in a more catholic spirit than the representative striker, but it shows at least that the leading men of the country are willing to meet the issues of the day and anxious to solve them for the good of all alike."

A HISTORY OF THE MOLLIE MAGUIRES.

CHAPTER I.

The Anthracite Coal Regions of Pennsylvania—Character of the Towns and People—The Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Molly Maguires Identical—Origin of the Society—The “Buckahots”—Rapid Increase of the Order in the Mining Regions—Resistance to the Draft—Riot at Mauch Chunk—Murders of Langdon, Smith, Dunne, Littlehales, Rae and Powell—Terrible Reign of Crime—The Mollies Responsible for the Murders—Impossibility of Convicting a Mollie of a crime—The Mollies Defy the Law—The Prosperity of the Coal Regions Affected—A Reign of Terror—Mollies in Public Office—it is Resolved to Destroy the Molly Maguires.

THE anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, “generally recognized as the ‘northern,’ ‘middle,’ and ‘southern’ coal basins, are comprised within or bounded by a line of mountain, which, forming itself some distance eastward from Mauch Chunk, takes, under the name of the ‘Second Mountain,’ a southwesterly course to the Susquehanna river, leaving the towns of Mauch Chunk, Tamaqua, Pottsville and Tremont to the north; thence, in a northeasterly course, as the ‘Peters Mountain,’ to a point nearly southwest from Tower City; thence northwestwardly, as ‘Berrie’s Mountain,’ again crossing the Susquehanna; thence southeastwardly to Taylorsville, as the ‘Mahantongo Mountain;’ thence northwestwardly again in the direction of the Susquehanna, as

the 'Line Mountain;' thence bearing in a southeasterly direction, as the 'Little Mountain,' leaving Shamokin, Ashland, Shenandoah and Mahanoy City to the south, to a point in Union Township, Schuylkill County. Here the mountain runs almost due north for some miles as the 'Catawissa Mountain,' when its course is again changed to southeasterly as the 'Nescopeck Mountain;' thence north and northwest as the 'Wyoming Mountain;' and thence again in an easterly direction, running north of Wilkesbarre and Scranton, as the 'Shickshinny Mountain.' Within the area enclosed by this mountain lies all the at present discovered anthracite coal of Pennsylvania. It embraces not only the large basins before named, but also a number of comparatively small detached coal fields. . . . Within this area are enclosed the coal producing portions of Carbon, Schuylkill, Dauphin, Northumberland, Columbia and Luzerne Counties, and it is to a great extent occupied by a series of majestic mountains, the Sharp, the Broad, the Big Mahanoy, the Little Mahanoy, the Locust, the Green, the Macauley, and others." Dauphin and Columbia are agricultural as well as mining counties, but the others are strictly mining counties. By the census of 1870, the population of the purely mining counties was as follows: Carbon 28,144; Schuylkill 116,428; Northumberland 41,444; Luzerne 160,755. Since the census of 1870 the population of these counties has largely increased.

The business of mining coal has drawn large bodies of men to these counties, and has gathered them at fixed points, in cities, towns and large mining settlements. The amount of arable land being small, in consequence of the mountainous character of the coun-

try, but a limited portion of the area is under cultivation.

The natural formation of the country is very favorable to lawlessness. A walk of a few minutes from any of the towns, in almost any direction, leads to glens and haunts where one might hide in safety for months from the police.

"Not only is the singular feature presented of nearly the whole population of the coal regions living in cities, towns and small settlements, often called 'patches,' but the character and habits of the population in the several settlements differ widely from each other. Scranton, Wilkesbarre, Mauch Chunk, Pottsville and Tamaqua are all business centres, wherein are located banks, manufacturing establishments, the general offices of railroads and coal companies, large stores, and where, to a great extent, the wealth of the region naturally clusters. The cities and towns are not only business centres, but offer additional inducements, social, educational and religious, to the coal operator and those whose means enable them to retire from business, in the selection of a place of residence. As a consequence, they have lost, in a great degree, the distinctive character of mining settlements, and differ, perhaps, from other places of equal size throughout the country only in being more cosmopolitan; this arising from the wide range embraced by their business operations, and the varied character of the inhabitants. Towns such as Ashland, Shenandoah, Mahanoy City, Minersville, St. Clair, Hazleton, Pittston, Plymouth, and many others of large population, to a certain degree partake of the character of business and social centres, but the mining classes, being largely in the majority, regulate and con-

trol them. Besides these two classes of towns there are a great number of ' patches ' or settlements, whose population is entirely composed of miners and laborers and those whose business is either directly or indirectly connected with the mines. While the admixture of the foreign element pervades every part of the region, in large cities and towns native born citizens of the United States hold control, but at the colliery towns the power of the foreigner is absolute. In these last still further divisions are made, some being almost exclusively composed of Irishmen, with natives of Queens and other counties, Ireland, largely in the majority. In such towns not only have the manners, customs and modes of thought of the Irish people been transplanted, but even the local prejudices incident to certain localities in that beautiful but in many respects unfortunate land. Coming here fresh from the contest with the landlord and land agent in Ireland, with no surrounding influences to teach them their error, they transfer a prejudice which has grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength to the coal operator and the boss, from whom they derive their subsistence, and under whose direction they work. Taught from infancy to believe that as against them capital is never used except as an instrument of oppression, under the influence, sometimes, of real wrongs, but more frequently under a mistaken belief of an encroachment upon their rights, a spirit of resistance is aroused, which wicked and designing wretches have so used and controlled as to render the undetected commission of horrid crimes not only easy, but, to a certain extent, sympathized with. That the above is no justification for such a state of affairs is true; nevertheless, it explains, or tends to explain, the possibility of its existence."

Such is the region that has become notorious throughout the Union as the country of the Mollie Maguires and the scene of their terrible crimes.

The order of the "Mollie Maguires" is of foreign birth, and was imported into this country from Ireland. It was organized there by the Irish peasantry as a means of opposing a combined resistance to the exactions of the landlords. Brought to this country by the emigrants who found work in the coal regions of Pennsylvania, it became an organization which sought to control the relations of the miners towards their employers and to compel the latter to submit to any demand the former might impose upon them.

The "Ancient Order of Hibernians" is a large and powerful Irish society extending throughout the United States. Its objects are professedly benevolent. It is regularly incorporated under the laws of the various States in which it exists. Outside of the coal regions of Pennsylvania, there is no positive proof that the society is at all criminal in its character. The worst charge that has been brought against it is that it supported and continued its relations with the Mollie Maguires after their exposure, and raised a large sum by assessments upon its members throughout the Union to defray the expenses of the defence of the Mollies charged with crime in the coal regions. The order is secret, and wields an immense influence over its members. Its members are Roman Catholics, notwithstanding the fact that it has been *nominatim* condemned by the Holy See, and is under the ban of the church.

The Mollie Maguires were all members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In the coal fields of Pennsylvania, they controlled the order, and gave their

name to it. Hence we shall speak of the order simply as the Mollie Maguires. The principal work of the order in Ireland was the shooting of the agents of the Irish landlords. It is said to have received its name from a ferocious Irishwoman who particularly distinguished herself in this work. The Mollies appeared in Pennsylvania as early as the year 1854, when it became evident to the authorities that a criminal organization existed in the counties of Schuylkill and Carbon. The members of this organization were popularly termed "Buckshots." They gave considerable trouble to the authorities, but were not considered especially dangerous during the next five or six years.

The great demand for coal which the stimulus of the Civil War produced, and which set in about the year 1862, drew an immense population to the Pennsylvania coal fields, and as a very large proportion of the newcomers were Irishmen, the strength and power of the Mollie Maguires increased with the growth of the population. The existence of the order was known, but, as its members, when questioned, stoutly denied their connection with it and preserved the most rigid secrecy respecting its transactions, nothing was known with certainty by the authorities.

In the summer of 1862 the first draft for the purpose of filling up the ranks of the United States army was ordered. Active preparations were made by the Mollies in Schuylkill and Carbon counties to prevent the enrolment. In both counties the enrolment was effected, however. This led to numerous threats on the part of the Mollies, and in Carbon county to much violence. Men connected with the draft, or representing the capitalists operating the mines were assaulted,

beaten and murdered, and houses were burned by unknown parties. The authorities seemed powerless to detect or punish the perpetrators of these outrages, and the county was plunged into a state of terror. Notices were served upon leading coal operators to suspend operations until after the discontinuance of the draft, and bosses and miners were warned that if they went to work, they would do so at the peril of their lives. Upon one occasion in the summer of 1863, a large body of armed Mollies entered the town of Mauch Chunk, overawed the citizens, seized the jail, and released a number of the prisoners.

On the 14th of July, 1862, F. W. S. Langdon, the breaker boss at one of the neighboring coal mines, was found in a dying condition near Audenreid, having been attacked and mortally injured by a gang of the Mollies. On the 5th of November, 1863, George K. Smith, a surveyor and mining engineer, was murdered in his own house and in the presence of his family, by a band of Mollies, with blackened faces, who rushed into the house and shot him down. He was suspected of furnishing the information by which the United States officials had been able to make the enrolment in his district. A number of other murders were committed in Schuylkill and Carbon counties in the years 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1865. The murders were generally committed with deliberation, and by unknown persons; the victims were generally men deservedly prominent in their communities, many of them being connected with the mines in the higher positions.

On the 10th of January, 1867, Henry H. Dunne was murdered on a public road within two miles of Pottsville. He was the superintendent of the New York &

Schuylkill Coal Company's collieries, and had become obnoxious to the Mollies. Mr. Dunne being a man much beloved in Pottsville, his murder caused an intense excitement; detectives were employed by the company in whose service he died, and every effort was made to trace the murderers; but all in vain. Nothing could break through the impenetrable secrecy in which the Mollies enveloped their misdeeds.

On the 15th of March, 1867, William H. Littlehales was waylaid and shot on the public road near Glen Carbon, in Schuylkill county. He was but thirty-one years old, and was a man of unusual promise and popularity. He was the superintendent of the Glen Carbon colliery. He was murdered on a public road, in the broad light of day, and within speaking distance of a large number of persons, none of whom, however, professed to have been aware of the terrible deed. The boldness of the act, and the ease with which the murderers effected their escape, startled the people of Schuylkill county. Public meetings were held, and large rewards were offered for the discovery and arrest of the assassins; but nothing was accomplished. The Mollies had made sure of their victim, and were in no danger of discovery.

As a general rule, the Mollies killed their victims from motives of revenge, and rarely in the attempt to commit a robbery. In the spring of 1867, and at times in 1868, a series of murders for the purpose of robbery occurred in Schuylkill county. It is believed that in 1868, Pat Hester, a body-master of the Mollies, in Northumberland county, was the leading spirit. On the 17th of October, 1868, Alexander Rae, a resident of Mount Carmel, was robbed and murdered by the

Mollies. On the evening of the 2d of December, 1871, Morgan Poweil, a boss of the Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company, was murdered at Summit Hill, in Carbon county. He had just come out of a store, and was on his way to the office of the company. Near the store he encountered a crowd of men standing on the side walk. One of them stepped forward and fired at him with a revolver, inflicting a wound from which he died. Although the murder occurred early in the evening and was witnessed by a large number of persons, the assassin and his confederates readily succeeded in escaping to the woods.

Crime now seemed rampant in the coal regions. On the 30th of March, 1867, the *Miners' Journal* published a list of fifty murders committed in Schuylkill county, between January 1st, 1863, and March 30th, 1867. Of these, twenty-seven, or more than one-half, were committed by unknown persons, and may be safely set down to the Mollie Maguires. The chief stronghold of this order, however, was Carbon county, where they had matters very much their own way.

During all this while none of the Mollies had been convicted of the crimes they had committed. Arrests of suspected parties had been made, and they had been brought to trial in some instances; but the State had been unable to convict them. The friends of the prisoners were always on hand, ready to swear to anything necessary to secure their acquittal. Whenever a member of the order was tried for an offence, a convenient *alibi* was set up and sustained by as many witnesses as were thought necessary. An acquittal was thus readily secured, and the law was rendered powerless to punish the guilty parties. Large rewards were

offered by the civil authorities and the coal-mining companies, and strenuous efforts were made to bring the murderers to justice, but up to the time of the murder of Morgan Powell, in 1871, no Mollie had ever been convicted of murder in the first degree. So strong had the Mollies become, especially in Schuylkill and Carbon counties, that they did not believe the authorities could punish them, and regarded themselves as at liberty to carry out their plans as they liked.

As has been said, the authorities of the counties embraced in the coal regions were convinced that the reign of lawlessness in their midst was due to a powerful secret organization of Irishmen, and they had learned that it was known as the Mollie Magires, but beyond this they could discover nothing. Detectives had been set to work to ferret out the mysterious order, but had been baffled and forced to give up their efforts in despair. The Mollies, secure in the mystery with which they enshrouded themselves, continued their horrid work, and laughed at the authorities. Meanwhile the respectable inhabitants of the coal regions lived in a state of constant terror. No man could tell when his life might be taken or his property destroyed by the terrible order, which struck its blows in the dark and without assigning any reason for them. So strong had the Mollies become, that they even ventured to take possession of the very machinery of the law by causing themselves to be elected to public offices in the counties of Schuylkill and Carbon. Having gained possession of the offices they proceeded to manipulate the public funds in the interests of their organization. They became a potent influence

in State politics, and John Kehoe, county delegate for the Schuylkill branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, openly boasted of his ability to extend the influence of the society into national politics. Mollies were repeatedly elected as county commissioners and school directors. In one instance a member of the society was sent to the legislature, and one of their members, John J. Slattery, ran for an associate justiceship, but was fortunately beaten at the polls.

So powerful did the Mollies become in the coal regions, and so general was the feeling of terror and insecurity which they aroused, that the prosperity of that section began to be seriously affected. It was seen that the immense interests centred there were at the mercy of a mob of lawless ruffians, and that if these men were permitted to extend their power, capital and respectable industry of all kinds would be driven from the coal-fields. It was therefore resolved by certain parties deeply interested in the welfare of the coal counties that the Mollie Maguires should be exposed and brought to justice.

CHAPTER II.

Franklin B. Gowen—His Interest in the Coal Regions—He Resolves upon the Destruction of the Mollie Maguires—Difficulties of the Attempt—He secures the Assistance of the Pinkerton Agency—A Detective to be sent among the Mollies—The Man Selected—James McParlan—He takes the Name of James McKeuna—Arrives in the Coal Regions—Meets Pat Dorner—Professes to be a Mollie—Deceives Dorner—A Narrow Escape—Finds Work at Shenandoah—Muff Lawler—Discovers the Character of the Mollie Organization—McKenna Becomes a Mollie Maguire—The Initiation Ceremony—McKenna Rises in the Order—Account of the Ancient Order of Hibernians—Its Constitution and Organization—Its Strength in the United States—The Secret Signs and Pass-words—Precautions as regards Members—Use of the Body-Masters and Quarrelling Toasts—Systematic Regulation of the Commission of Crime by the Order—Cold-blooded Murder the Object of the Society—System of Defence against the Law.

THE man to whom the conception and execution of the determination to break up and crush the organization of the Mollie Maguires is due, is Franklin B. Gowen, the President of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad and Coal and Iron Company. The company over which he presides has vast interests at stake in the coal fields. It is the owner of about 125,000 acres of the most valuable mineral lands in the country, in which is embraced the largest body of anthracite coal in the world. Its mines are among the most important in the State, and its railroad property represents many millions of dollars. All of these interests were placed at the mercy of the Mollie Maguires by the failure of the law to break up that organization. Mr. Gowen was convinced that in order to render the investments of his company safe and profitable, as well as to secure the general welfare of

the community in which this property was located, organized crime must be exterminated; or, in other words, that the Mollie Maguires must be broken up as an order, and punished as individuals. He fully appreciated the difficulties of the attempts to penetrate the mysteries of the order, and to secure evidence to convict its members. Having passed a considerable part of his life in the coal regions as an operator in coal, and as one of the leading lawyers of the State, he was familiar with the long series of crimes which were believed to have been committed by the Mollics, and with the many and fruitless efforts that had been made to bring them to justice. He had seen all the ordinary means of enforcing the law fail utterly, and knew that to be successful some unusual and as yet untried course must be pursued. He resolved, however, that the effort should be made, and in the fall of 1873 entered upon the execution of the plan upon which he had determined.

Mr. Gowen resolved to secure the aid of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, whose experienced operatives he hoped would be able to accomplish the end in view. He consulted Benjamin Franklin, the superintendent of the Philadelphia office, and laid his scheme before him. Mr. Franklin reported the matter to his superiors, and Allan Pinkerton, the chief of the agency, repaired to Philadelphia, and had an interview with Mr. Gowen, at the office of the latter, in October, 1873. After stating to Mr. Pinkerton all that was known concerning the Mollics, their secrecy, their crimes, and the impunity with which they had contrived to defy justice, Mr. Gowen continued, "What we want, and everybody wants, is to get within this apparently

impenetrable ring; turn to the light the hidden side of this dark and cruel body, to probe to its core this festering sore upon the body politic, which is rapidly gnawing into the vitals and sapping the life of the community. Crime must be punished in the mountains of Pennsylvania, as it is in the agricultural counties, and in all well-regulated countries. We want to work our mines in peace, to run our passenger and freight trains without fear of the sudden loss of life and property through the malicious acts of the Mollie Maguires; we want people to sleep, unthreatened, unmolested in their beds, undisturbed by horrid dreams of midnight prowlers and cowardly assassins; we want the laboring men, of whatever creeds or nationalities, protected in their right to work to secure sustenance for their wives and little ones unawed by outside influence. We want the miner to go forth cheerfully to the slope, or the shaft, for labor in the breast or in the gangway, wherever it may seem to him for the best, void of the fear in his heart when he parts from his wife at the cottage gate in the morning, that it may be their last farewell on earth, and by evening his bullet-riddled corpse may be taken back to his home, the only evidence that he has encountered the murderer—the agent of those who would compel him to refuse all employment unless the regulations of the order were complied with. The State cannot attain these things; she has repeatedly tried, and tried in vain. You can do it. I have seen you tested on other occasions and in other matters, and know your ability to conduct the business. We are willing to supply everything within our power to make your task a success."

Mr. Pinkerton agreed to undertake the case, and to furnish the proper man for the work. It was stipulated that Mr. Gowen should take no one into his confidence, but that the matter should be known only to himself, Allan Pinkerton, Benjamin Franklin, and the detective employed. The detective was to make his reports directly to Mr. Franklin at Philadelphia, who would communicate them through Mr. Pinkerton to Mr. Gowen, or directly, in case of necessity. Mr. Gowen, on his part, was to be prepared to render the detective any support he might require, and in the meantime was to cause it to be given out that the Reading Railroad Company had definitely abandoned the idea of sending a detective to look after the Mollie Maguires.

Pinkerton returned to Chicago, and in a few days selected his man. His choice reflects the highest credit on his sagacity and his knowledge of men. The man chosen was James McParlan, a native of the county of Armagh, Province of Ulster, Ireland. He was born in 1844, and was consequently about twenty-nine years old when he undertook his dangerous mission. "Of medium height," says Pinkerton, describing him, "a slim but wiry figure, well knit together; a clear hazel eye; hair of an auburn color, and bordering upon the style denominated as 'sandy'; a forehead high, full, and well rounded forward, florid complexion, regular features, with beard and moustache a little darker than his hair, there was no mistaking McParlan's place of nativity, even had not his slight accent betrayed his Celtic origin. He was, in fact, a fine specimen of the better class of emigrants to this country. He was passably educated, had beheld and brushed against the people of a considerable portion of the new world dur-

ing the short time he had been in it, and earned a reputation for honesty, a peculiar tact and shrewdness, skill and perseverance in performing his numerous and difficult duties, and worked himself into the position of a firm favorite with those of my employés intimately associated with him." Mr. Pinkerton stated to McParlan the nature of the work to be done, and the detective at once consented to undertake the dangerous task. He was furnished with proper instructions, and was ordered to report to Mr. Franklin at the Philadelphia office. Informing his friends that he was to be sent to England on a confidential mission by the agency, he at once left Chicago, and in due time reported at the Philadelphia office. There he was given his final instructions, and was furnished with a dress which so thoroughly disguised him that his best friends would not have known him. He was ordered to report daily by mail to the Philadelphia office, and arrangements were perfected by which he could receive funds and communicate with the agency by telegraph in case of necessity. Dropping his own surname, he took the name of James McKenna, and assumed the character of a miner from Colorado, who had come East, and was looking for work in the coal regions. On the 27th of October, 1873, he left Philadelphia, and proceeded by the Reading Railroad to Port Clinton, a small town situated on the line dividing Berks and Schuylkill counties.

The task before McKenna—for by this name we shall call him in relating his adventures—was one demanding the greatest courage as well as the greatest ingenuity and fertility of resource. He was ordered to enter the haunts of the Mollie Maguires, mingle among

them, join their order, become possessed of their secrets, collect evidence which would secure the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators of past murders, and give such warnings as would enable the authorities to prevent the commission of new crimes. In short, he was to undermine the foundations of the Mollie Maguire structure so successfully, yet so secretly, that it would be an easy matter for the authorities to break up the order and punish its members guilty of crime. He would have to encounter the keenest suspicion, and would be in momentary danger of his life until he should succeed in winning the confidence of the desperate men among whom he was to labor. The slightest indiscretion, the merest accident, might betray his true character, and call down upon him the vengeance of the Mollies, from whom he knew he could expect no mercy in case of discovery. He had two points in his favor. He was an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, both indispensable requisites for admission to the order, and he had no doubt of being able to enter it should he succeed in winning the confidence of a sufficient number of its members. Once admitted to it, he trusted to his own good sense to carry out his ends, and to keep him from harm.

McKenna found Port Clinton of little interest, the Pennsylvania Dutch being the controlling element. He visited Auburn, Pinegrove, and Schuylkill Haven in succession, pretending to look for work. At Schuylkill Haven, which is situated at the junction of the Mine Hill branch with the main line of the Reading road, and also at the head of the Schuylkill Canal, and is a coal-shipping point of considerable importance, he spent some days in mingling with the men at the coal

wharves and the railroad yards, and from them acquired much valuable information. He next proceeded to Tremont, where he remained a week. While there he noticed an article in the *Boston Pilot*, denunciatory of the Mollie Maguires. This gave him an opportunity of introducing the subject, and, calling the attention of several persons to the article, he pretended to believe that the society had no real existence. He was informed that he was mistaken, that the society was a terrible reality, and that Mahanoy City was full of its members. Tremont being in the coal region, McKenna there formed the acquaintance of a number of miners, and, pretending to be in search of work, visited in succession Newtown, Swatara, Middle Creek, Rausch's Creek, and Donaldson, at each place making new acquaintances and picking up valuable information about the Mollies. He next visited the western part of Schuylkill county, and spent four days in Tower City and the neighboring coal mines. Pursuing his inquiries cautiously, he learned that Mahanoy valley, north of the Broad Mountain, was the stronghold of the Mollie Maguires, and that the order was both numerous and powerful there. He visited other parts of the coal region, and then went to Philadelphia to consult Superintendent Franklin. He had accomplished the first part of his mission, had made certain the existence of the Mollie Maguires, and had located them. He had also become satisfied that if every member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians was not a Mollie Maguire, every Mollie Maguire was a member of the Hibernian order.

McKenna spent two weeks in Philadelphia, and late in December, 1873, returned to the coal regions. He

was ordered to establish his head-quarters at Pottsville for the present, and did so, obtaining board at the house of Mrs. O'Reagan, in a low quarter of the town. From the time of his entrance into the coal regions in October, McKenna had assumed the character of a reckless, devil-may-care fellow, ready at any moment for a dance, a song, or a fight, and the impression had gotten out that while he was a thoroughly good fellow at heart, he was too much given to drink for his own good, and was a desperate and dangerous man when roused. He had literally sung, danced, fought, and drunk himself into popularity with the rough men among whom he mingled. He retained this character upon his settlement at Pottsville.

Soon after arriving in Pottsville, McKenna formed the acquaintance and won the friendship of Pat Dormer, a Mollie Maguire, one of the commissioners of the county, and the keeper of a low drinking saloon and "Mollie" resort, called the Sheridan House. He quite won Dormer's heart by thrashing a bully one night in his saloon, and quietly improved the opportunity thus held out to him. On one occasion, when Dormer and himself were alone in the saloon, he raised his glass, and looking the saloon keeper quietly in the face, repeated the words of a significant toast, which he had frequently heard in the place, and which he felt sure was a Mollie password. Dormer was astonished, and asked: "What! are you one of them things?" McKenna intimated that he was, and Dormer, without more questioning, accepted the detective as a brother Mollie, and took him into his confidence. McKenna told him he had belonged to the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Buffalo, where he owned some houses,

but that, owing to his having killed a man there, he had been obliged to leave in a hurry, and was afraid to communicate with his society for fear of being discovered. He said that he was unable, for the same reason, to collect his rents, and that though he had a sum of money with him, he must be on the lookout for work. At the same time he desired to keep up his connection with the organization. Dormer told him that Michael, or "Muff," Lawler, the body-master of the Shenandoah division, was a personal friend of his, and that he would give McKenna a letter of recommendation to Lawler, who would assist him to get work at Shenandoah. Some time after this Dormer introduced McKenna to Michael Cooney, as a member of the order. Cooney was suspicious, and demanded such proofs of McKenna's membership, that the latter escaped detection only by feigning intoxication.

A few weeks after this, Lawler, the body-master of the Shenandoah division, came to Pottsville, and McKenna was introduced to him by Dormer at the Sheridan House. Dormer warmly recommended McKenna to the body-master, who was also pleased with him. At the same time Dormer privately intimated that McKenna was a fugitive from justice, a circumstance which gave him an additional hold upon Lawler's regard. It was arranged that McKenna should go to Shenandoah, and that Lawler would help him to obtain work.

McKenna had made up his mind that Shenandoah was the best place for him, and had so reported to Superintendent Franklin. He remained some time longer at Pottsville, and during this period visited several of the neighboring mining towns, and extended

his acquaintance and increased his store of information. He was everywhere regarded as a prominent Mollie Maguire, who had good reasons of his own for keeping quiet, and the rumor that he was a fugitive from justice, added to the bad reputation he had managed to acquire, made him many friends.

On the 10th of February, 1874, McKenna went to Shenandoah, which place he made his home from this time until the close of his career in the coal regions. Shenandoah is a town of about nine thousand inhabitants. It lies a few miles north of Mahanoy City, and to the east of Ashland. It is a mining centre of great importance, and as a matter of course the mining element predominates in the population. It was at the time of McKenna's arrival a stronghold of Mollie Maguireism. There the organization was openly defiant, and carried its measures with a high hand. McKenna found work at a colliery near Shenandoah, and remained there about two weeks, when he threw up his job upon some trifling pretext, and sought other employment, which he did not hold long, however.

McKenna was warmly received by "Muff" Lawler, who introduced him to a number of the leading Mollies.

"A very short intercourse with his new associates convinced him that not only were the rights of person and of property, and the laws of the land, regarded with contempt by the 'Mollie' organization, but that he who had committed the greatest number and deadliest of crimes, and had at the same time evaded the law, was looked upon with admiration and respect. He also soon discovered that the man who supported himself or his family by a course of honest industry was held in far less esteem than the man who had acquired

money by fraud or trick. The great corporations, the landowners, and the coal operators were viewed as enemies and oppressors, who had no rights, and against whom any advantage, however unfair, might be taken. The positions of township auditor, supervisor of roads, treasurer, school director, and tax collector were eagerly sought for, and when obtained, the duties were administered with a criminal disregard of the rights of the public. Fraudulent, altered, and forged orders were issued with perfect boldness, and corruption in the management of public trust prevailed to an extent that would have excited the admiration of the boldest operator in the Tweed ring in its palmiest days. It is no exaggeration to say that the frauds in many townships in the coal region were far greater, in proportion to the amount involved, than any charged to New York or Philadelphia jobs. Many of the 'Mollie' leaders were tavern and saloon keepers, and their houses headquarters for the turbulent and discontented, where were devised schemes by which the different coal operations could be run in the interest of the organization by means of superintendents and bosses of their selection and by them forced into position."

Finding that any regular employment would interfere with his operations, McKenna stopped work about the middle of March, 1874. He accounted for his ability to get along without work by saying that he was in receipt of a pension from the United States government for services in the navy during the war, and to his most confidential friends, Lawler and others, he intimated that he made a support by disposing of counterfeit money. Both stories were believed. He boldly asserted that he was a member of the "order,"

and repeated to Lawler, with embellishments, the story he had told Dormer about his murdering a man in Buffalo. He told him that it would not be safe for him to write to his body-master at Buffalo for his card, as that might lead to his detection and arrest, and said that as he did not wish to sever his connection with the order, he had better be initiated over again. Lawler agreed with him, and said he would propose the matter at the next meeting of the society.

This meeting was held at Lawler's house on the 14th of April, 1874. It took place at night, and in the best bed-chamber of the house. The initiation is thus described by Allan Pinkerton : "A large lamp burned brightly on the bureau, before the oval mirror, at one extremity of the room, between the two heavily draped windows, and another, giving a lesser light, rested upon a stand, or table, at the opposite end of the apartment. Behind the small table Mike Lawler, the body-master of the division, stood, holding in his hand a slip of paper, which at the moment he was intently and earnestly studying. The other men were ranged, standing erect with arms folded, around the room, leaving a clear spot of carpet in the centre of the floor. Each Mollie devoutly made the sign of the cross as Monaghan and McKenna entered. The latter was instructed to similarly bless himself, and promptly obeyed. He was then taken to the middle of the room, and, still standing by his side, Monaghan proclaimed all in readiness to proceed.

" 'The neophyte will kneel !' said Lawler.

" 'Now get down on your prayer-bones,' whispered Monaghan ; and McKenna knelt upon the carpet.

" Here all the members at a given signal from Law-

ler, drew nearer the initiate, leaving room for the body-master, who came also, still holding the mysterious paper in his hand.

" 'I will now proceed,' said the presiding officer, in a pompous and affected tone of voice, 'to explain to you the objects of the Ancient Order of Hibernians: "We are joined together to promote friendship, unity and true Christian charity among our members, by raising money for the maintenance of the aged, sick, blind, and infirm. The motto of the order is, Friendship, Unity, and true Christian Charity; unity, in uniting for mutual support in sickness and distress; friendship, in assisting each other to the best of our ability; true Christian charity by doing to each other and all the world as we would wish they should do unto us." It is the desire to promote friendship among the Irish Catholics, and especially to assist one another in all trials. You are expected to keep all matters occurring within the division room a secret in your own heart. None of the workings of the society are to be recalled to those not known to be members.'

" Here there was a short pause, and the initiate was asked if he subscribed to all these things, to which he made audible answer in the affirmative.

" 'I will then proceed to administer the solemn and binding obligation with which all present have already pledged themselves. You will repeat these words after me: '

" McKenna still upon his knees, and guarded by Monaghan, repeated the oath or obligation, as Lawler read it from the paper, as near as may be, as follows:

" 'I, James McKenna, having heard the objects of the order fully explained, do solemnly swear that I

will, with the help of God, keep inviolably secret all the acts and things done by this order, and obey the constitution and by-laws in every respect. Should I hear a member illly spoken of, I will espouse his cause, and convey the information to him as soon as possible for me so to do. I will obey my superior officers in everything lawful, and not otherwise. All this I do solemnly swear !'

"Then McKenna was told to cross himself once more, the surrounding brothers doing the same, and the test-paper, as it was called, was handed to him by Lawler, and, still in a kneeling posture, he reverently kissed it, and was prompted by Monaghan to rise.

"This concluded the brief initiatory ceremony. Afterward, the new-made member walked to the treasurer's table, which was the bureau, and there paid three dollars, the sum assessed as the initiatory fee.

"He should have subsequently signed his name in a book containing the constitution of the body, but this was omitted, as were many other things which in regular lodges of the order of Ancient Hibernians are always insisted upon. All present now came forward and warmly shook hands with McKenna, welcoming him as brother.

"The next thing was the instruction of the new member in the passwords and signs—or secret work—commonly called 'the goods' of the society, by Lawler, as follows :

"The sign of recognition, which is changed every three months, for the present is made by putting the tip of the little finger of the right hand to the outer corner of the right eye, thus : and the body-master made the sign, which McKenna was requested to imitate. He did so, and the officer resumed :

"The answer to this is, to catch the right lapel of the vest, or coat with the little finger and thumb of the right hand, in this manner;" and Lawler performed the answering signal, which the novitiate imitated as well as he could.

Lawler continued :

"There are a number of toasts, or hailing signs and responses, by which members of the order recognize each other. When the signal just furnished cannot be seen, what is called the drinking toast for the quarter is employed. It is this :

"The Emperor of France and Don Carlos of Spain."

And is answered :

"May unite together and the people's rights maintain."

The password, now used in entering a division, is this :

"Question.—Will tenant right in Ireland flourish?"

"Answer.—If the people unite and the landlords subdue."

The quarrelling word to be employed when a brother is in doubt if one with whom he is about to dispute or come to blows is a member of the order or not, is as follows :

"Question.—Your temper is high!"

"Answer.—I have good reason!"

The night word, to be used when two men meet in darkness, is :

"Question.—The nights are very dark!"

"Answer.—I hope they soon will mend!"

This concluded the ceremonies, and the meeting, without transacting any further business of importance, adjourned, all going straight to the bar, where, as was expected, the newly initiated Mollie spent some money

in treating his comrades. When, at about midnight, McKenna and McAndrew left for their respective homes, Lawler was on his way to bed more decidedly mellow than he had been seen since the detective's arrival in the place.

McKenna had successfully carried one of his main points, and was now a full-pledged Mollie Maguire. He followed up the advantage he had gained, and by intensifying his character of a drunken, swaggering bully, and by boasting of his devotion to the order and the great services he had rendered it, he succeeded soon after this in securing his election to the office of secretary of his division, which entitled him to a seat in the county conventions. He went all over Schuylkill, Northumberland, and Carbon counties, bragging and boasting, "the biggest Mollie in the lot," and impressing his associates with his devotion to the cause. It should be added here that during all this time he never urged any man to become a member of the order, and never by word or deed suggested or gave countenance to crime.

McKenna found that the society into which he had been initiated was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania under the name of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, but that in the coal regions it was generally called by the members themselves the Mollie Maguires. He found that its constitution and by-laws embodied the purest sentiments of morality and brotherly love, and enjoined upon the members the most Christian-like treatment of persons outside of the organization. These principles were in striking contrast with the character of the members of the order, and were used merely as a cloak to cover its real

workings. He found the order in the coal regions a criminal organization, banded together for the purpose of committing crime and escaping punishment.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians exists in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as in the United States. It is controlled in this country and abroad by a Directory, known as the "Board of Erin," selected from members in England, Ireland, and Scotland. These regulate and give out the signs and passwords of the order, which are changed every three months.

The head-quarters of the order in the United States are at New York. The national officers are elected by the State officers, and consist of the National Delegate, National Secretary, National Treasurer, and President of the Board of the City and County of New York. Each State has its own officers. The head-quarters of the order in Pennsylvania are at Pittsburgh. The officers consist of a State Delegate, State Treasurer, and State Secretary. They are elected by the county officers, who consist of a County Delegate, County Treasurer, and County Secretary. The county officers are elected by county conventions, which are made up of the officers of the various divisions. The division officers are the Division Master or Body-Master, Secretary and Treasurer, and are elected by the members of their respective divisions.

No man can be a member of the order but an Irishman or the son of an Irishman, and a Roman Catholic.

It is stated that there are over six thousand divisions or lodges in the United States, and that the membership of the order is over one hundred thousand. From this large body of men, with the exception of a portion of a division (No. 2) in Philadelphia, no word

of condemnation of the crimes of the Mollie Maguires in the coal regions has been heard. On the contrary, every effort has been made, and money has been liberally subscribed to enable them to escape justice.

The signs and passwords of the order show its foreign character and sympathies. They are changed every three months. In addition to the signs and passwords given in the account of McKenna's initiation, the following were furnished by him in his evidence before the courts at the trials of the Mollies:

May 18th, 1874:

PASSWORD.—“That the trouble of the country may soon be at an end.”

Answer.—“And likewise the men who will not her defend.”

QUARRELLING TOAST.—“You should not dispute with a friend.”

Answer.—“Not if I am not provoked.”

NIGHT PASSWORD.—“Long nights are unpleasant.”

Answer.—“I hope they will be at an end.”

SIGN.—The front finger and thumb of the right hand to touch the neck-tie or top button of the shirt.

Answer.—Right hand to rub across forehead touching hair.

August 10th, 1874:

PASSWORD.—“What do you think of the Mayo election ?

I think the fair West has made a bad selection.”

Answer.—“Whom do you think will duty betray ?”

QUARRELLING TOAST.—“Don't get yoar temp' so high.”

Answer.—“Not with a friend.”

SIGN.—Putting the thumb of right hand into the pocket of the pantaloons.

Answer.—Putting the thumb of left hand on the lower lip.

October 28th, 1874:

PASSWORD.—“What do you think of D'Israeli's plan ?

He still keeps home rule from our native land.”

Answer.—“But still with good swords and men at command
We will give long-lost rights to our native land.”

NIGHT PASSWORD.—“The night looks gloomy.”

Answer.—“I hope we will soon have a change.”

QUARRELLING TOAST.—"You are very provoking, sir."

Answer.—"I am not to blame."

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST:

Question.—"May the President of France the general so grand"

Answer.—"Banish all heresy and free Ireland."

Sign omitted.

January 11th, 1875:

PASSWORD:

Question.—"Gladstone's policy must be put down:

He is the main support of the British crown."

Answer.—"But our Catholic lords will not support his plan,
For true to their church they will firmly stand."

QUARRELLING TOAST:

Question.—"Don't give way to anger."

Answer.—"I will obey a friend."

NIGHT PASSWORD:

Question.—"The nights are getting shorter."

Answer.—"They will soon be at their shortest."

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—"Let every Irish peasant

Espousing Erin's cause,

In college green

They may be seen

There making Irish laws."

SIGN.—Nail of the right thumb across the bridge of the nose.

Answer.—Tip of the fore-finger of the left hand to the chin.

May 14th, 1875:

PASSWORD:

Question.—"What is your opinion of the Tipperary election?

I think England broke her constitution by
Mitchell's rejection."

Answer.—"But didn't O'Connell resign his oath and seat?"

Yes, and by agitation gained the emancipation."

QUARRELLING TOAST:

Question.—"Keep your temper cool."

Answer.—"I will not raise it to a friend."

BODY-MASTER'S TOAST.—"Here's that every Irishman may

stand to his cause,

And subdue the British government and its coercion laws."

SIGN.—The fore-finger of the right hand in the left sleeve of the coat.

Answer.—The thumb of the left hand in the left side vest-pocket.

November 4th, 1875:

PASSWORD.—“Here’s health to every Irishman
That lives in Ireland,
To assemble round in Dublin Town
In memory of Great Dan.”

Answer.—“When born he found our country
In chains and slavery;
He labored hard to set her free,
But now he’s in the clay.”

QUARRELLING TOAST:

Question.—“You seem to be getting vexed.”

Answer.—“Not with you, sir.”

NIGHT PASSWORD:

Question.—“These nights are fine.”

Answer.—“Yes; we shall have a fine harvest.”

SIGN.—Tip of the fore-finger of the right hand to the hole of the right ear.

Answer.—Tip of the fore-finger of the left hand to the hole of the left ear.

January 22d, 1876:

PASSWORD:

Question.—“Home rule in Ulster is making great progress.”

Answer.—“Yes, if every Irishman would support the cause.”

Question.—“I wonder if Ireland can gain tenant right?”

Answer.—“Yes, if supported by the Irish members.”

NIGHT PASSWORD:

Question.—“Moonlight is pleasant.”

Answer.—“Yes, so is freedom.”

QUARRELLING TOAST:

Question.—“Be calm, sir.”

Answer.—“I am never too boisterous.”

BODY-MASTER’S TOAST.—“Here’s to every Irishman that crossed the Atlantic wave,
That they may return with heart
and hand their native land to save.”

Members of the order are confined to the divisions to which they belong, and have no right to attend the meetings of other divisions. This is a check upon the spread of dangerous information. A member in good standing can change his division, but for such a purpose a card of recommendation from the body-master of his late division is necessary. Should it be proposed to use the card out of the county, the county delegate places upon it his private mark. The card may be presented to either a body-master or a county delegate; if the former, the card is forwarded to the county delegate for the verification of his private mark. In leaving the State, a travelling card, which also bears the county delegate's private mark, is used.

The use of the body-master's toast, which is given to those officers alone, is to enable them to recognize each other.

The quarrelling toast is used to prevent broils among the members. If a blow is struck after it is given, the offender is liable to expulsion from the order.

Among the Mollie Maguires there is a thoroughly arranged system for the commission of crimes. A member having made complaint of certain parties who have offended him, or who are considered dangerous to the order, the matter is referred to the body-master, or a meeting of the division, or to a meeting of the body-masters of all the divisions and other leading men of the order, called by the county delegate. The body-master or the meeting decides whether any action shall be taken in the premises, and what shall be the nature of the punishment. In case punishment is decided upon, application is made either to the county delegate or to the body-master of another division for

men to commit the outrage, the men furnished being always unknown to the victim or victims. A solemn promise is given that the favor will be returned by the division needing the service, whenever called upon by the other. The body-master of the division called upon either directly appoints the men, or they are selected by lot. A member refusing to obey the orders of his body-master on such an occasion is expelled from the order. The men, having been selected, are despatched to the head-quarters of the division needing them, and are placed upon the track of their victims as soon as possible. They are required either to kill or brutally beat the persons pointed out to them, or to burn certain houses or mining structures. The person committing the crime is in nine cases out of ten a stranger to his victim, and is actuated by no personal ill will to him. He simply obeys the orders of his society, and murders or burns in cold blood, and with a deliberation that is appalling. Murder is the most common form of punishment with the Mollies. "Dead men tell no tales," is the principle of the order. It is enough for a man to incur the dislike of an influential member of the order to forfeit his life. The murder is generally committed in some lonely place, and with all the aggravated features of assassination. Though the conduct of the murderers is in the highest degree cowardly, they are regarded as heroes by the Mollies, and large rewards have been paid by the society for the killing of particularly obnoxious individuals. Should a member commit a murder or a robbery on his individual account, the act is indorsed by the society, and its whole influence is used to screen and protect the criminal. When a member is arrested for

a crime, the others are assessed in a certain sum for the purpose of raising money to employ counsel to defend him. The next step is to find witnesses enough to establish an "alibi." Perjury in such a cause being counted a virtue by the Mollies, the witnesses are always forthcoming. Evidence of any kind that is wanted, can be promptly furnished by the order.

Such is the order of the Mollie Maguires, and such are its leading features. Though its members claim to be Roman Catholics, the order has been anathematized by the Roman Catholic Church. The church, however, has so far failed to influence its members. The order flourishes in spite of the clergy, and while professing the utmost devotion to the church, encourages crime and wickedness.

CHAPTER III.

McKenna as a Mollie Maguire—His Reports to the Pinkerton Agency—The “Long Strike”—Suffering of the Miners—Violence of the Mollies—Captain Linden—Failure of the Strike—The Mollies try to bring on a Riot—Troops sent to the Coal Regions—Murder of George Major—Trial and Acquittal of Dougherty—Attacks upon him—Dougherty Demands the Death of his Enemies—His Demand Granted—Attempted Assassination of William M. Thomas—Murder of Benjamin F. Yost—The Work of the Mollies—The Murderer Rewarded—McKenna obtains the Confessions of all the Assassins—Murder of Gomer James—Hurley Acknowledges the Deed—The Mollie Convention Decides that he is Entitled to a Reward for his Crime—McKenna secures Proofs of the Guilt of the Mollies—Murder of Thomas Sanger and William Uren—The Murderers Relate their Exploits to McKenna—Murder of John P. Jones—Capture of the Murderers—A Terrible Blow to the Mollies—Growth of the Opposition to the Mollies—The Mollies Cowed—Trial of Doyle for the Murder of Jones—His Conviction and Sentence—Kerrigan Turns Informer—His Confession—Arrest of the Murderers of Yost and Sanger and Uren—McKenna Suspected of being a Detective—His Bold Action—Attempts to Kill him—Sees Father O’Conner—His Work Done—Returns to Philadelphia—Trial and Conviction of the Mollie Maguires—McParlan on the Witness Stand—Sentences of the Mollies—Executions of the Mollies at Pottsville and Mauch Chunk—Mollie Maguireism Destroyed.

BEING now a Mollie Maguire in good standing, McKenna directed his efforts to becoming possessed of a thorough knowledge of the order, its ramifications and workings, and to the discovery of the perpetrators of the murders of past years, and the collection of evidence against them. By means of his daily reports by mail to Superintendent Franklin, he was also enabled to give warning of intended crimes, and in some cases to prevent their commission. He quickly acquired the confidence of the Mollies, and was regarded by them as one of the most devoted as well as one of the most reckless and desperate members of the order.

In December, 1874, the miners began what is known as "the long strike," which continued until June, 1875. The strike was ill-advised; the whole country was suffering from depression, and the coal interests had been among the first to feel the effects of the disastrous panic of 1873. The miners were unable to carry their point, and in June, 1875, were forced to resume work on the terms offered by the coal companies. During the continuance of the strike there was much suffering among the miners, and large numbers would have returned to work but for their fear of the Mollie Maguires, who threatened all persons returning to work during the strike with death. During this period there was considerable violence. The reports of McKenna during this time were of the greatest value, and bear witness to his unfailing industry and skill in accumulating evidence against the criminals, as well as to his constant efforts to prevent crime. It was found necessary, in order to accomplish this latter purpose, to give him a more direct means of communication with the authorities than through the Philadelphia office. For this purpose R. J. Linden, the assistant superintendent of Pinkerton's Chicago office, was sent to Shenandoah, and was appointed by Mr. Gowen a captain in the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Police. McKenna had regular and frequent meetings with Captain Linden, and in cases of emergency warned him of the danger to threatened persons, who were quietly cautioned without knowing from whom the warning came. The meetings between McKenna and Linden were attended with the constant risk of discovery, and were a source of danger to both.

The failure of the long strike and the return of the

men to work greatly incensed the Mollies. On the 3d of June, a mob gathered near Shenandoah and attempted to stop work at the West Shenandoah colliery. This was prevented by the firm attitude of Captain Linden and twenty-five of his men, who were armed with Winchester rifles. The mob then marched to Mahanoy City, drove off the Sheriff of Schuylkill county and his posse, took possession of the town, threw open the jail, and released the prisoners. At the call of the Sheriff, the Governor of the State sent a regiment of militia to Mahanoy City and Shenandoah, and under the protection of the troops the men resumed their work. The Mollies were afraid to attempt open resistance, but remained sullen and discontented. Matters continued in this dangerous condition for some months.

Another circumstance now occurred to increase the trouble. On the night of the 31st of October, 1874, George Major, the Chief Burgess of Mahanoy City, had been shot during a disturbance at a fire. A young man named Dougherty had been arrested and tried for the murder, but was acquitted in the spring of 1875. Notwithstanding his acquittal, many persons believed him guilty of the murder (of which, however, he was really innocent), and on several occasions when Dougherty ventured out in the evening he was fired at by unknown parties, and narrowly escaped with his life.

Dougherty was a Mollie, and complained to John Kehoe, the county delegate, of the efforts made to kill him. Kehoe at first proposed to assemble the whole Mollie organization and openly attack Mahanoy City; but Dougherty opposed this, and said that if William M. Thomas, and William and Jesse Major, brothers of the murdered man, were killed, he would be safe.

Kehoe accordingly summoned a convention of the officers of the order, which met at Michael Clark's hotel in Mahanoy City on the 1st of June. McKenna was present as Secretary of his division. The meeting *was opened with prayer*, and the result was the determination that William M. Thomas and the Majors should be murdered—Thomas to be the first victim. Arrangements were made for the selection of the assassins. After some changes, Thomas Hurley, John Gibbons, Michael Doyle, and John Morris, young men whose ages varied from nineteen to twenty-three, agreed to undertake the "job." They had no grudge against any of the doomed men, but were merely anxious to acquire distinction in the order. After several ineffectual attempts, they fired four shots at Thomas, all of which struck him. He fell, and the Mollies, supposing him dead, fled. Thomas' wounds were not fatal, and he subsequently recovered. The murderers hastened to Shenandoah, where they met McKenna, and told him of what they had done. The whole matter had been known to McKenna from the first, and he had caused Thomas to be warned of his danger, but was unable to prevent the attack upon him. He had acquired, however, damning evidence against the assassins.

The meeting which ordered the assassination of Thomas also appointed the men for the murder of the Majors; but McKenna managed to have them warned, and the Mollies were not able to harm them. Yellow Jack Donahue and Jack Kehoe made strenuous efforts to have these men killed, but they kept out of the way of danger.

A new matter now engaged McKenna's attention.

Policeman Benjamin F. Yost, of Tamaqua, had drawn upon himself the anger of James Kerrigan, body-master of the Tamaqua division of the Mollies. Kerrigan was a worthless, dissipated fellow, and had for his boon companion a man equally bad, named Thomas Duffy. These men had frequently fallen into the hands of Yost, and he had been compelled to handle them very roughly before they would submit. This aroused in Duffy a feeling of bitter hatred towards Yost, and he proposed to Kerrigan, whose feelings towards the policeman were not a whit better, to have Yost killed. Kerrigan was the nominal body-master, but the real head of the Mollies at Tamaqua was James Carroll, who kept the "Union House" in that place. The matter was laid before Carroll, who, though he had no unkind feeling for Yost, entered heart and soul into the plan. This was in June, 1875. Yost's murder being determined upon, application was made to James Roarity, body-master of the Coaldale division, to furnish the men. The Coaldale division was really under the leadership of Alexander Campbell, a liquor dealer at Storm Hill. The Coaldale and Storm Hill Mollies had already determined upon the murder of John P. Jones, a boss in the employ of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, and the successor of the unfortunate Morgan Powell. Jones had refused work to two of the Mollies, hence his death had been resolved upon. When Roarity mentioned to Campbell the call for men from the Tamaqua division to kill Yost, Campbell agreed that it should be granted, on condition that the Tamaqua division would promise to furnish men to kill John P. Jones. The arrangement was effected. Yost was to be killed first. Hugh McGeehan and

James Boyle were selected to do the fatal deed, and were to be at Tamaqua at a certain time. The spot for the assassination was carefully selected, and Duffy and Kerrigan were to lead the men to it, and pilot them out of the town after the murder.

On the night of the 5th of July, 1875, the murderers were on hand, and were led to the fatal spot, which was immediately in front of Yost's residence. For over an hour they lay in wait for the policeman. At last Yost appeared accompanied by Barney McCarron, another policeman. The two went into Yost's house to get something to eat. At length they came out, and Yost proceeded to extinguish the street lamp, as was his custom, McCarron waiting for him a little way off. As Yost mounted the ladder he had placed against the lamp post, Boyle and McGeehan stepped forward and fired at him. Boyle missed his mark, but McGeehan's bullet inflicted a mortal wound in the right side. Yost staggered towards his house, and fell into the arms of his wife, who had witnessed the shooting from the window, and had rushed out to him. He died during the night. The murderers, guided by Kerrigan, fled. McCarron pursued them, firing two shots at them, but without effect. They succeeded in escaping and reached their homes in safety.

The murder of Benjamin Yost created the greatest excitement in Tamaqua. By many persons Kerrigan and Duffy, whose enmity to the dead man was well known, were suspected of the crime. Several citizens determined to probe the affair to the bottom, and the Pinkerton Agency was employed to investigate it. Mr. Franklin, the Philadelphia superintendent, accepted the task, but did not disclose his plans. He directed McKenna to

examine into the affair, and accordingly on the 15th of July the detective appeared in Tamaqua, in his character of a Mollie Maguire. He made the acquaintance of Carroll, Campbell, Kerrigan and others, and learned the leading facts of the murder. He also found that the Mollies, to reward McGeehan for his crime, had resolved to "set him up" in business in a liquor saloon. Skilfully and cautiously he drew from Carroll, Kerrigan and Campbell all that they knew of the murder of Yost, and pretended that his admiration for the crime was unbounded. He was loud in his praises of McGeehan, whom he pronounced a hero. He also learned of the arrangements for killing John P. Jones, and, through Captain Linden, caused him to be warned of his danger. For some time after this, Mr. Jones was constantly in the company and under the protection of the Reading coal and iron police. At the opening of McGeehan's saloon, which McKenna attended, McGeehan was openly praised by the Mollies present for his killing of Yost, and acknowledged the crime. McKenna adroitly drew from him a full confession of his act, and the next day with equal skill induced Roarity to confess his share in the transaction.

On the 14th of August another murder was committed by the Mollies. Gomer James, a young Welshman, who had offended some of the members of the order, was shot by Thomas Hurley at a picnic near Shenandoah. James' death had been ordered by the society, and Hurley had been appointed to kill him. The murderer walked up to his victim, who was attending the bar, and in the presence of a large number of persons, deliberately shot him. James died in a few moments, and Hurley turning on his heel coolly walked

away. McKenna had known of the intention to kill James, and by causing him to be warned, had for some time kept him out of danger, but had not been able to prevent the crime. As soon as he heard of the murder he left Tamaqua and returned to Shenandoah. He went at once to Monaghan's saloon, where he found Hurley and a number of other Mollies. He was soon in possession of the facts of the case, for Hurley openly boasted of his crime, and was the hero of the evening. Muff Lawler urged McKenna to go to Girardville, and see Jack Kehoe, the county delegate, and urge him to call a meeting of the order to reward Hurley for his "clean job." McKenna went to Kehoe's place at Girardville on the 17th of August, and Kehoe at once introduced the subject of the reward, declaring that Hurley ought to be paid at least five hundred dollars. He called a meeting of the order at Tamaqua on the 25th, to consider the matter of the reward. The convention met at the appointed time and place. Another Mollie appeared, and claimed the reward as the murderer of Gomer James. A committee was appointed, McKenna being a member, to investigate the murder, and subsequently reported that Thomas Hurley was beyond all doubt the murderer of Gomer James, and entitled to the reward. For some reason the money was never paid, but the guilt of Hurley was established.

In some way Thomas Sanger, boss of the Raven Run colliery, had gained the ill-will of some of the Mollies, and his death was ordered by the society. James (or Friday) and Charles O'Donnell, James McAllister, Michael Doyle and Thomas Munley were selected to kill him. At six o'clock on the morning of the 1st of September, 1875, about one hundred men and boys

had collected at the mines ready to go to work. The assassins were standing near the crowd, ready for their terrible deed, but were not noticed by the workmen. About quarter to seven, Sanger was seen approaching from his house, accompanied by a young man named William Uren. As they approached, James O'Donnell advanced to Sanger and shot him. Sanger turned and ran towards his house. Uren attempted to interfere in his behalf, when O'Donnell shot him also, and hastened in pursuit of Sanger. Uren ran towards the engine house. The other four Mollies now fired rapidly at the crowd in front of the mine to disperse them. Thomas Munley, seeing Sanger running away, ran towards him and shot him. Sanger took refuge in a neighboring house, and the assassins fled to the mountains. Sanger and Uren died during the day. The murderers hastened to Shenandoah, which they reached in safety, and proceeded to Muff Lawler's saloon, where they met McKenna. Each one related his share in the murder, and Friday O'Donnell boasted that it was a clean job and they had killed two instead of one. Their confessions were full and free, and placed McKenna in full possession of all the facts of the case.

In the meantime the demand had been made by the Coaldale Mollies for men to kill John P. Jones, and a meeting of the Shenandoah division was held on the night of the 1st of September, at the house of Frank McAndrew, the body-master, to select the murderers. Thomas Munley and Michael Darcy volunteered for the work, and John McGrail and James McKenna were appointed by the body-master. McKenna had sought the appointment in the hope of preventing the murder. He did succeed in delaying the starting of his compan-

ions, and as he was congratulating himself that Jones would have time to get out of the way, news came that he had been murdered by another band of Mollies. It seems that he had given offence to some of the Mollies of the Mount Laffee division (near Pottsville), and the body-master of that division, Jerry Kane, had appointed Edward Kelly and another man to do the work. As the other was a married man, a young man named Michael J. Doyle volunteered to take his place, and the offer was accepted. They went to Tamaqua on the 1st of September, bearing a letter of introduction to Thomas Carroll. Carroll sent them in charge of James Kerrigan to Alexander Campbell at Storm Hill. Kerrigan introduced his companions to Campbell as the men sent over to kill Jones, and they were warmly greeted by Campbell. Campbell took them up to McGeehan's saloon on Summit Hill, and introduced them to that murderer. Pistols were carefully selected, and as neither Kerrigan, Doyle nor Kelly knew John P. Jones, Campbell carefully described his personal appearance to them. They spent the night and next day and night in seeking opportunities to kill their victim, but without success. On the morning of the 3d John P. Jones, who had on the previous night slept at his house at Storm Hill, for the first time in many months, left home and started for the office of the general superintendent near the Landsford depot. The train from Tamaqua was nearly due, and about one hundred persons were awaiting it at the depot. Just as Jones approached the depot, he was suddenly confronted by Kelly and Doyle, who fired rapidly at him, lodging several balls in his body. He fell dead, and the murderers under the guidance of Kerrigan fled.

Pursuit was made by the infuriated people who had witnessed the murder, but Kerrigan knew the country well, and kept his men well out of reach. He carried them past Tamaqua and fairly on the way to Tuscarora and Pottsville. After passing Tamaqua he felt that they were safe; and as they were near his house, which was to the west of the town, he left them in the bush and hastened to his home to get some whiskey and something for them to eat. Here Kerrigan soon joined them, and they proceeded to a spring on the side of the mountain, and seating themselves began their repast. While there, they were observed by two young men, who were on the watch for the murderers of Jones. One of the young men remained to watch Kerrigan and his party, and the other hastened to Tamaqua, and collected several citizens, who armed themselves and set off for the spring. Their movements attracted attention, and fully twenty-five men joined the pursuit. Kerrigan and the murderers were encountered at the spring and captured. They were taken to the Tamaqua jail, but threats of lynching them were so open that they were sent to Mauch Chunk and imprisoned there, their crime having been committed within the limits of Carbon county.

The news of the capture of the murderers of Jones took the Mollies by surprise. McKenna pretended to be in active sympathy with them, and was enabled to collect valuable information which he embodied in his reports. His activity exposed him to the enmity of the people of Tamaqua, who knew him only as a leading Mollie, and for a time there was a real danger that some of the excited citizens would take his life.

The murder of John P. Jones proved the ruin of

Mollie Maguireism. The people of the coal regions were resolved that the reign of lawlessness should come to an end. The *Shenandoah Herald*, published in the very stronghold of the order, began a series of powerful denunciations of the Mollies, and maintained a vigorous warfare upon them in spite of the warnings of friends and the threats of the Mollies themselves. In consequence of this, a strong party in opposition to Mollie Maguireism soon made its appearance. The Mollies were defiant. They believed their crimes and the real purposes of their order safe from discovery, and as a gubernatorial election was approaching, and they were known to control a large vote in the coal regions, they did not believe that either of the political parties would suffer them to be seriously interfered with. In the meantime they addressed themselves to the task of raising money by assessment for the defence of the murderers of John P. Jones.

Mr. Gowen now resolved to make the effort, for which he had so long been preparing, of trying to crush out the Mollie Maguires. He resolved to give every aid to the Commonwealth in the prosecution of the murderers of Jones. It was clear from the reports of McKenna that the right men had been arrested, but he knew that to defeat the "*alibi*" which the prisoners would set up would be difficult. McKenna was now of the greatest service in supplying the attorneys for the Commonwealth with information upon which to base their case, and in revealing to them the plans of the defence. The case was fixed for trial at Mauch Chunk on the 19th of October, 1875, but was continued at the instance of the prisoners.

The Mollies were confident of the acquittal of the

prisoners when the trial did come on. In the mean time they were alarmed at the growing public sentiment against them, and endeavored by threats, coffin notices, and other means of intimidation to re-establish their old rule of terror. Their power was gone, however. The coffin notices were disregarded, and the leading Mollies were warned that any outrage on the part of their men would be retaliated with tenfold severity. Vigilance committees were formed, and the Mollies found that they were face to face with an opposition which they had not deemed possible. For a while they seemed disposed to measure their strength with the law-abiding citizens. On the night of the 9th of October, 1875, they came into Shenandoah armed and prepared for violence, but finding the citizens armed and determined, refrained from an attack upon them. This was their last threatening demonstration on so large a scale.

In the meantime the preparations for the trial were carried on by both sides. On the 18th of January, 1876, Doyle and Kelly were produced in court at Mauch Chunk to stand their trial on the charge of murdering John P. Jones. They chose to be tried separately, and the Commonwealth elected to try Michael J. Doyle first. He was defended by able counsel. His trial lasted fourteen days, during which one hundred and twenty-two witnesses testified in such a manner as to leave no doubt in the minds of the jury as to the prisoner's guilt. A verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree was rendered on the 1st of February. A new trial was asked, and was refused, and on the 22d of February, Doyle was sentenced by Judge Dreher to death by hanging.

The conviction of Doyle was a terrible blow to the Mollies, who were still further demoralized by the sudden desertion of Kerrigan, who, alarmed for his life, avowed his willingness to turn State's evidence, and inform against his former confederates. He arrived at this decision a few days before the conviction of Doyle, and the next day was visited in his cell by Messrs. Hughes and Albright, the attorneys for the Commonwealth, accompanied by a stenographer. He told the truth in his confession, but in such a manner as to endeavor to shield himself. He related the events of the murders of Jones and Yost, and gave to his hearers a statement of the inside workings of the Mollie Maguire organization. To say that his hearers were astonished at his revelations concerning the order is to give but a faint idea of their feelings. Though they had lived long in the coal regions, they had no idea of the depth of the wickedness of the order.

The confession of Kerrigan enabled the authorities to take another step in the work of destroying the Mollies. Warrants for the arrest of the murderers of Benjamin Yost were placed in the hands of Captain Linden, and also of Captain Peeler, of the coal and iron police, located in Carbon county. These officials managed their task with great discretion, and on the 4th of February, two days after the conviction of Doyle of the murder of John P. Jones, Alexander Campbell was arrested on the charge of murder, and committed to the Mauch Chunk jail. On the same day James Roarity, James Carroll, Hugh McGeehan, James Boyle, and Thomas Duffy were arrested and taken to Tamaqua, from which place they were sent to Pottsville, and at once committed to jail. These arrests struck terror to

the Mollies, and convinced them that Kerrigan had turned informer and betrayed them. The bitterest indignation was expressed towards him. Messrs. Ryon and Bartholomew were engaged as counsel for the prisoners, and in their behalf applied for a writ of habeas corpus on the 9th of February. The writ was issued and made returnable on the 12th of the same month. On the 11th the excitement was increased by the arrest of Charles McAllister and Thomas Munley on the charge of murdering Sanger and Uren at Raven's run. They were committed to the Schuylkill county jail. While these arrests were regarded by the Mollies with a sort of angry amazement, they were hailed with delight by the law-abiding citizens. Men began to believe now that the reign of lawlessness was at an end.

On Saturday, February 12th, 1876, the court met at Pottsville to hear the evidence in the matter of the habeas corpus in the case of the murderers of policeman Yost. Judge Pershing announced that the hearing would be private, and that the court-room must be cleared. At this hearing Kerrigan was produced, and made a frank confession before the court. The court ordered that the proceedings should not be made public, and committed all the prisoners to answer the charge of murdering Benjamin F. Yost.

The arrest of Munley and McAllister was a more appalling denouement to the Mollies than the arrest of the murderers of Yost. Kerrigan had furnished the evidence on which the latter were arrested, but the Mollies knew that he was absolutely ignorant of the names of the murderers of Sanger and Uren. It was clear that this information had been furnished by

another party. This fact, and the certainty that some one was betraying the tactics of the defence to the prosecution, convinced Messrs. Ryon and Bartholomew that a detective was operating inside of the Mollie organization. Who could be the detective?

In some way—how will probably never be known—suspicion fell upon McKenna. These suspicions were imparted to several Roman Catholic priests, who warned Jack Kehoe, the county delegate, and other Mollies, to beware of McKenna, as he was a detective in disguise. Kehoe at once spread the information, and warned his fellow-members to beware of McKenna.

McKenna was told by Frank McAndrew, the body-master of the Shenandoah division, on the morning of the hearing of the habeas corpus, that it was rumored that he was a detective, and that the report was being discussed throughout the order. McKenna denied it, and determined to show fight. He was anxious to probe still deeper into the mysteries of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and to bring to light more evidence of the guilt of the murderers of past years, and was unwilling to abandon his task then and there. He knew his danger, but he believed that by putting on a bold front he could convince the Mollies that he was not a detective. He went boldly to Kehoe, denied the charge, and demanded a trial by the society. Kehoe was frightened by McKenna's manner, and for a moment was staggered in his belief. He agreed to call a meeting of the order, and give McKenna a chance to prove his innocence. A day or two after this, Kehoe's suspicions returned, and he determined that McKenna, instead of being tried, should be killed at once. He went about manufacturing sentiment against the sus-

pected man, and at length succeeded in inducing about a dozen desperate men to undertake the deed. McKenna was expected at Shenandoah on the evening of the very day on which these arrangements were made, and it was determined to kill him immediately upon his arrival. McKenna was suspicious, however, and though he ventured fearlessly among the men whom he was satisfied meant to murder him, succeeded in warding off the contemplated attack for the night. The next day McKenna hired a sleigh and accompanied by McAndrew, who had conceived a strong friendship for him, drove over to see Jack Kehoe. They were followed by two men in another sleigh, who, McAndrew informed the detective, were seeking an opportunity to take his life. McKenna kept a sharp watch upon the other sleigh. Kehoe was thunderstruck on seeing McKenna, who he supposed had been murdered on the previous night, safe and on good terms with the body-master who had been charged with his murder. McKenna indignantly demanded to know why he had not been tried by the order, but Kehoe answered that he had become satisfied that there was no use in trying him, and had countermanded the order for the meeting. McKenna also learned from Kehoe that the reports of his being a detective came from Father O'Conner, of Mahanoy Plane, and he told Kehoe he would go and confront Father O'Conner. A considerable number of Mollies had assembled at Kehoe's house that day, and the county delegate was anxious to have the detective killed then and there, but McKenna, who appreciated his danger, managed to enlist the sympathies of Kehoe's wife, and the plan was abandoned at her instance.

McKenna and McAndrew now went on to Mahanoy Plane. They went at once to William Callahan's saloon, and found there two Mollies—Thomas Donahue and Philip Nash—who had come over from Kehoe's ahead of them without their knowledge. Dowlan and Monaghan, the Mollies in the second sleigh, had accompanied McKenna and McAndrew from Kehoe's. The detective at once sought the priest, but found that he was not at home. Upon his return, McAndrew told him that the other Mollies were anxious to kill him there, but that he had refused to consent to it. They then went back to Shenandoah, leaving Dowlan behind, too drunk to accompany his companion in the sleigh, and McAndrew made the detective pass the night with him. He knew that an effort would be made to kill McKenna at his boarding house that night, if he returned to it. McKenna went back to Mahanoy Plane the next day, but Father O'Conner was still absent. He was unwilling to risk another night in Shenandoah, and went to Pottsville, where he slept. The next morning he went back to Mahanoy Plane, and this time found Father O'Conner at home. The priest frankly gave McKenna his reasons for warning Kehoe that he was a detective, and though McKenna stoutly denied the charges against him, he learned enough to satisfy him that he was too thoroughly suspected to accomplish anything more among the Mollies, and that if he remained in the coal regions longer, he would certainly fall a speedy victim to their vengeance. He therefore returned to Pottsville that night, and the next morning went to Philadelphia. The Mollies had no proof against him; they merely suspected him. That, however, was enough to seal his doom.

In the meantime the trials of the prisoners went on. On the 26th of March, 1876, Edward Kelly was arraigned at Mauch Chunk for the murder of John P. Jones, and on the 6th of April the jury returned a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree. A motion was made for a new trial. It was heard a few days later, but was overruled, and the prisoner was sentenced to death by Judge Dreher. Death warrants were issued by Governor Hartranft, fixing May 3d for Doyle's execution, and May 4th for that of Kelly. On the 27th of April writs of error were taken to the Supreme Court, and the death warrants were superseded for the time being.

The promptness with which the murderers of John P. Jones had been convicted threw the Mollies into a panic, and they prepared to make a desperate defence of the remaining prisoners. They were ready to furnish any amount of false evidence to sustain the alibi which was to be set up in these cases, and meant to produce witnesses sufficiently hardened to stand a cross-examination. The prosecution felt that they had a difficult task before them. The evidence of Kerrigan was their main dependence, and they were fearful that the defence would succeed in offsetting it with Mollie testimony, which could not be successfully overturned. In view of this difficulty, McKenna, or McParlan, as we must now call him, consented to become a witness for the commonwealth, and in order to strengthen the case still further, Mr. Franklin B. Gowen associated himself with the prosecution. His presence and aid were gladly welcomed. Thus reinforced, the prosecution went to work with confidence.

On the 4th of May, 1876, James Carroll, James

Roarity, James Boyle, Hugh McGeehan, and Thomas Duffy were arraigned before the court at Pottsville on the charge of murdering Benjamin F. Yost. The prisoners determined to be tried together. The jury being empanelled, the case was opened on the 6th by the District-Attorney, who, in the course of his remarks, astounded the audience by announcing that among the witnesses who would be offered by the commonwealth was a man who for years had lived in the county, had associated with the Mollies, had been a member of the order, was familiar with its crimes, and was prepared to identify the murderers of Yost. He was known to the people of the coal regions as James McKenna, but his true name was James McParlan, and he was a detective in the service of the Pinkerton Agency. This announcement fell upon the audience like a clap of thunder from a clear sky.

When McParlan was called to the witness stand, the audience could hardly believe that the quiet, gentlemanly, yet cool and resolute detective was the wild and reckless James McKenna they had known. McParlan was on the stand for four days. He told his story simply, and startled his auditors by his terrible revelations. The most searching cross-examination failed to find a flaw in his testimony, and when he left the stand it was felt that Mollie Maguireism had received its death-blow. Kerrigan now made up his mind to tell the whole truth, and did so, making no effort in his evidence to shield himself. On the 18th of May the trial was interrupted by the illness of one of the jurors, who died on the 23d of the month. This rendered it necessary to discharge the jury, and the case went over. No verdict had been obtained it

is true, but a great victory had been won over Mollie Maguireism. The order had been exposed; men had been made acquainted with its true character, and much had been contributed toward its ruin.

McParlan did not venture at this time to move about without a guard. Had he appeared on the street alone he would have been shot down by the desperate Mollies, and it was even feared that he would be assassinated in the court-room in order to destroy his evidence.

On the day on which McParlan appeared on the witness stand, the following Mollies were arrested and committed to jail: John Kehoe, High Constable of Girardville, and County Delegate of the Ancient Order of Hibernians; Michael Lawler, of Shenandoah; Frank O'Neill, of St. Clair; Patrick Butler, of Lost Creek; Patrick Dolan, Sr., of Big Mine Run; Michael O'Brien and Frank McHugh, of Mahanoy City; and Christopher Donnelly, of Mount Laffee.

During the trial of the Yost murderers it became known to the Mollies for the first time that those who planned and urged on the murder were liable to the same punishment as those who committed the act. They were terrified and incredulous. Then it was seriously proposed to assassinate all who were actively engaged in the prosecution of the Mollies, but this was abandoned as too hazardous.

On the 20th of June, 1876, Alexander Campbell was arraigned for the murder of John P. Jones, which he had planned, aided, and assisted, though he had not fired any of the fatal shots. He was known to be one of the worst men in the Mollie organization, and the prosecution was very anxious to secure his conviction.

In this they were successful, and on the 1st of July Campbell was found guilty of murder in the first degree. A number of the witnesses for the defence in this case were arrested for perjury.

On the 27th of June, the trial of Thomas Munley for the murder of Sanger at Raven's Run, was begun at Pottsville. The argument of Mr. Gowen for the prosecution in this case was a masterly arraignment of Mollie Maguireism. It has been printed and widely circulated throughout the country. On the 12th of July Munley was found guilty of murder in the first degree.

On the 13th of July, Carroll, Roarity, McGeehan and Boyle were again placed on trial for the murder of Benjamin F. Yost. Thomas Duffy demanded a separate trial. On the 22d, the jury returned a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree against all the prisoners. A motion was made for a new trial, and was argued, and denied. The prisoners were sentenced to death, and their death warrants were issued. Their counsel took out writs of error and carried the cases to the Supreme Court, thus superseding the death warrants for a while.

On the 8th of August, 1876, John Kehoe, Michael O'Brien, Christopher Donnelly, John Donahue, *alias* Yellow Jack, James Roarity, Dennis F. Canning, Frank McHugh, John Gibbons, John Morris, Thomas Hurley, and Michael Doyle were arraigned at Pottsville, charged with assault and battery with intent to kill William M. Thomas. All the accused were produced in custody except Doyle and Hurley. On the 12th of August, the jury returned a verdict of guilty as to all the defendants, with a recommendation to the court of

mercy in the case of Frank McHugh. On the 16th of August, John Kehoe, Christopher Donnelly, Dennis F. Canning, Michael O'Brien, Frank McHugh, John Donahue, and James Roarity were found guilty of conspiring to murder William and Jesse Major. On the 20th of August, James Roarity, Christopher Donnelly, John Donahue, Michael O'Brien, Patrick Dolan, Sr., and Patrick Butler were found guilty of aiding and assisting to reward Thomas Hurley for the murder of Gomer James.

On the 6th of September, 1876, Thomas Duffy was brought to trial for the murder of Benjamin F. Yost. On the 21st of September, he was found guilty of murder in the first degree.

Other Mollies were tried and convicted of complicity in the conspiracies to murder, of perjury, and other crimes. On the 16th of October, a long line of convicted Mollies, handcuffed together, and fastened to a chain, were brought before the Court of Schuylkill county, and were sentenced as follows:

Thomas Donahue, accessory after the fact to the assault and battery on William M. Thomas, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment at labor.

Edward Monaghan, accessory before the fact to assault and battery on William M. Thomas, to seven years' imprisonment at labor.

Barney N. Boyle, perjury, three years at labor.

Kate Boyle, perjury, two years and six months at labor.

Bridget Hyland, perjury, two years and six months at labor.

Thomas Duffy, perjury, two years and six months at labor.

John Kehoe, John Morris, Dennis F. Canning, Christopher Donnelly, John Gibbons, and Michael O'Brien, convicted of complicity in assault and battery with intent to kill William M. Thomas, were respectively sentenced to seven years' imprisonment at hard labor.

John Kehoe, Dennis F. Canning, Patrick Dolan, Sr., Michael O'Brien, Christopher Donnelly, and Frank O'Neill, convicted of conspiracy to kill Jesse and William Major, were sentenced as follows:

John Kehoe, seven years.

Dennis F. Canning, seven years.

Patrick Dolan, Sr., one year.

Christopher Donnelly, five years.

Michael O'Brien, five years.

The two last named, together with Frank O'Neill, were sentenced to two years, respectively, for aiding Thomas Hurley to escape.

On the 19th of October, 1876, John Donahue, *alias* Yellow Jack, Thomas P. Fisher, Patrick McKenna, and Alexander Campbell, were arraigned at Mauch Chunk, for the murder of Morgan Powell, five years before. The prisoners demanded separate trials, and the State elected to try Yellow Jack Donahue first. On the 24th of October, Donahue was found guilty of murder in the first degree.

The efforts of the counsel of the condemned Mollies to save them proved unavailing. Every possible means was tried, and the Governor and the Board of Pardons were subjected to a pressure unusual in such cases. There was no room for the exercise of clemency, however, and the death warrants were issued for the 21st of June, 1877.

The fatal day came at last. A gallows was erected

in the yard of the Pottsville jail, and only a few persons besides the necessary guards, witnesses, and spiritual advisers of the condemned men were permitted to witness the execution. At a little before eleven o'clock James Boyle and Hugh McGeehan were hanged for the murder of Benjamin F. Yost. An hour later they were followed by James Carroll and James Roarity, who were hanged on the same gallows for the same crime; and still an hour later Thomas Duffy and Thomas Munley were hanged on the same gallows, the former for the murder of Benjamin F. Yost, and the latter for the murder of Thomas Sanger, of Raven's Run. Six Mollie Maguires thus paid the penalty of their crimes.

On the same day Alexander Campbell, Michael Doyle, Edward Kelly, and Yellow Yack Donahue were hanged at Mauch Chunk, the first three for the murder of John P. Jones, and the last for the murder of Morgan Powell.

Mollie Maguireism was conquered at last. The law was vindicated, and a long series of crimes avenged.

The bodies of the executed Mollies were delivered by the authorities to their friends, and were honored with wakes in genuine Irish fashion. Campbell was buried at Summit Hill, and the others near their former homes. Though they regarded the dead men as martyrs to their cause, the Mollies made no effort at revenge. They were too thoroughly cowed for that. It was noticed that on the scaffold the condemned Mollies showed no realization of the enormity of their acts. They declared that they forgave the men who had brought them there, but not a word was uttered of penitence for the crimes for which they suffered.

This book should be returned to
the Library on or before the last date
stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred
by retaining it beyond the specified
time.

Please return promptly.

MAY 21 1981

HB DHJ4 W

McCabe
The History of the Great
Riots

